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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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METRICAL FORM OF THE EPIC, AS DISCUSSED BY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CRITICS

An attempt will be made in this article not only to give the discussion of the sixteenth-century critics regarding the proper verse-form for the heroic poem, but also to show how they defined the poet. Parrhasius (1531) believes that one should not doubt that there were poets in Greece before Homer, but that it seems reasonably certain that he was the first who sang the praises of the deeds of heroes in that verse which is called heroic, a measure most adapted to the easy and simple flow of words.¹ Daniello remarks in 1536 that, owing to the fact that no heroic poem exists in Italian, it is a difficult matter to decide the question of the most suitable verse-form for the vulgar tongue. It appears to him a strange state of affairs that with such talented writers in all Italy none had endeavored to write "heroicamente," but all had contented themselves with composing sonnets and stories.² Those who wrote in Latin, he continues, had Vergil for a model, but the Italian writers had no one to imitate. Some have had the temerity to call unrhymed eleven-syllable verse the heroic of the Italian, but Daniello recommends as the best meter for the epic the eleven-syllable verse enclosed in every third line,³ because both Dante and Petrarch had advised such a meter. Daniello contends that it is not the verse which renders the subject-matter grave or sublime, but the choice of words, sentences, and figures of speech. He does not believe

¹ Parrhasius, J., *In Q. Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam Commentaria*, Napoli, 1531, p. 35.

² Daniello, B., *Della poetica*, Vinegia, 1536, p. 130.

³ "A me parrebbe che col versi di undecisillabe interzato scrivere ne la deveste," *ibid.*, p. 131.

that only that which is without rhyme can be called heroic verse, but also that which is in rhyme.⁴ It should be remarked that Trissino's *Italia liberata* (1547), the first heroic poem written in Italian according to classical ideas, was composed in unrhymed eleven-syllable verse. It may be that his attention was first called to this meter by Daniello's observations.

Robortelli struggled with a passage which puzzled the sixteenth-century commentators, and which has given Greek scholars trouble even up to the present day. The explanation of the matter is that the text consulted by Robortelli and the other sixteenth-century commentators contained the Greek word *ἐποποιία*, which caused considerable confusion in their interpretation. Bywater brackets the word and translates as follows, omitting any reference to the heroic poem: ⁵ "There is further an art which imitates by language alone, without harmony, in prose or in verse, and if in verse either in some one or in a plurality of meters." Robortelli, as Paccius before him, has: "Nudis autem sermonibus sive metris solummodo epopoeia utitur, metrorum quidem hactenus sive mixtus aliquibus inter se, sive generis eiusdem alicuius." This manifest opposition to Aristotle's assertion in another part of the *Poetics* caused Robortelli a great deal of difficulty. He turns and recasts the passage, but finally gives up being able to secure a satisfactory translation. He concludes that Aristotle is here neither censuring nor praising the employment of mixed meter, which Horace had condemned when he stated that the epic should be written in heroic verse, which Homer had used.⁶ He further states that an epic poet to the vulgar mind is one who writes in hexameter verse.⁷ There seems to be a double reason for the employment of heroic verse in that it is suitable for elevated subjects and for varied language.⁸ The epic poets do not use iambic or tetrameter verse because a mixture of verses (and here he quotes Aristotle with assurance) would be absurd, and he concludes with Aristotle that the epic should be written in heroic verse.⁹

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ Bywater, I., *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, p. 4.

⁶ *In librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica Explicationes*, Florentiae, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸ "Nullum genus metri magis recipit varietatem linguarum & translationes quam Heroum," p. 278.

⁹ "Cur Epici poetae iambico, neque tetrametro utantur versu." *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Segni, meeting the same difficulty encountered by Robortelli in the first chapter of the *Poetics*, translates: "Ma l'Epopoeia fa l'imitatione solamente con la prosa, ò col verso; et col verso, ò mescolato di piu sorti: ò con quello, che sia d'una sola spetie,"¹⁰ and Segni attempts to justify the assertion that the epic can be in prose because there would have been nothing in common between the "Dialogues" of Socrates and the "Mimes" of Sophron, of which Aristotle speaks, except that they were both in prose. He does not feel sure of his ground, however, for he acknowledges that this assertion of Aristotle appears very strange to him.¹¹ Segni asserts (and this statement is frequently repeated by later critics) that the stories of Boccaccio can be called poems, if judged according to the subject-matter and the personages, for they are similar to the "Margites" of Homer.

Madius points out that "epopoeia" is a Greek word having no Latin equivalent, and that Cicero had called such poets as Vergil and Homer epic poets. The word *ἔπος* really signifies a heroic poem according to Madius, and the two expressions came to be used interchangeably. He repeats that the hexameter verse is proper to the epic, and that it should not be written in mixed meter, and he points out in his *Interpretatio* of Horace that Horace also judged the hexameter the proper meter.¹²

Muzio (1551), in the beginning of his second book, contends that blank verse can take the place of the hexameter.¹³

Varchi states that poets may be divided into first, those who observe both imitation and verse (to this division would belong all the works of Homer); the second class would be that in which imitation without verse is sufficient. In this way Lucan and Cicero and above all Boccaccio in the *Decameron* would be considered poets. Dante, continues Varchi, was the first to write in heroic verse in Italian, and Petrarch tried the heroic Latin verse in his

¹⁰ Segni, B., *Rettorica et Poetica d'Aristotile*, Firenze, 1549, p. 276.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹² Madius, V., *In Q. Horatii Flacci De Arte Poetica Interpretatio*, Venetiis, 1550, p. 338.

¹³

Contra lo stil continuo, in quella vece,
Che già gli Antichi usar le sei misure.
Porrem le rime senza rima, queste
Sono altra l'altre, chiare, pure, e alte.

Africa.¹⁴ Varchi was apparently criticized for this statement, for, contrary to the outlined plan, he devotes his next "lezione" in the Florentine Academy to a discussion of heroic verse. Some have said, he begins, that there are no Italian heroic poets because the Italian tongue lacks hexameter verse, without which a heroic poem cannot be composed. Others have said that neither Dante, Petrarch, nor Boccaccio should be considered heroic poets. He discusses whether Tuscan has hexameter verse and what constitutes the heroic verse in the Tuscan tongue. Whoever is familiar with the Latin hexameter will recognize at once that no such verse of six feet exists in Italian. Every one admits that the most serious verse that can be found should be employed in the heroic poem. There are some who contend that the *terza rima* is the heroic verse of the Italians; others hold that the *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio used in the *Teseide*, corresponds to the Latin; still others believe that blank verse (*versi sciolti* or *senza rima*) represents the hexameter.¹⁵ Varchi does not attempt to settle the question, although one might deduce that he is inclined to agree with Muzio that blank verse should be employed, and he does not even claim to be able to decide whether Trissino or Alamanni invented "versi sciolti."¹⁶

Giraldi Cinthio correctly defines "poet" as a maker ("faccitore"). Not on account of the verses, he continues, but principally on account of the subject-matter is one called poet.¹⁷ Giraldi believes that eleven-syllable verse should be employed to treat heroic subjects, because the seven syllable-verse is not suitable to serious subjects, and the twelve-syllable verse with its "sdrucchi-

¹⁴ Varchi, B., *Lezioni della poetica*, Firenze, 1553, p. 625.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 643.

¹⁶ On this point it is interesting to compare a letter written by Claudio Tolomei to Marcantonio Cinuzzi under date of Rome, July 1, 1543 (*De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei*, Vinegia, MDXLVII, I, 8.): "Io non so quanto mi piaccia la forma di questi versi sciolti, gli quali da molti s'usano per rappresentarci il verso Heroico Greco e Latino, si come furon gia usati da M. Luigi Alamanni nel trasferir l'Epitalamio di Peleo e di Tetide, che fece Catullo, e da Ludovico Martelli nel tradurre il quarto libro de l'Eneide di Vergilio; . . . e hora intendo che M. Giovangiorgio Trissino con questa stessa via, scrive Heroicamente in molti libri le guerre che gia fece Belisario in Italia."

¹⁷ Giraldi Cinthio, G. B., *Discorsi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 56.

oloso finimento" lacks gravity and tends to debase the composition.¹⁸ He does not think that the poems "senza rima" are in any way adapted to heroic matter. It seems to him that the best manner of verse used in Italian is alone suitable to compositions of such importance. In order that the art, the study, the thought of the poet may be evident, he should express himself with sweetness and gravity. This is impossible, he contends, with the "versi sciolti," "of which the inventor was Trissino," because they are free from the obligation of rhyme. Take away rhyme from verse, he concludes, and there remains a composition without grace, without sweetness, and without heroic dignity.¹⁹ Trissino should be blamed for introducing blank verse, for inasmuch as it is in reality nothing more than the language of every day, it is not suitable to grand subjects. Care should be taken to make the rhyme and words serve the concept, and not the concept the rhyme. It is necessary that the rhyme accord in sound, in signification, and in suavity of harmony,²⁰ and the poet should take care not to use words which would retard the flow of the verse or make it more sluggish, for if vivacity were taken from the heroic verse it would lose its worth.

Luisinus, repeating that the epic uses the hexameter, makes the assertion that one is a poet not on account of the meter, but on account of the plot and fiction. Pigna, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, believes that the hexameter is the proper verse, not only in Greek and Latin, but in Italian, and laments the fact that the hexameter had not been introduced into Italian.²¹

Scaliger, opposed to the view already expressed by Luisinus and recurring frequently among later critics, does not believe that the word "poet" is derived from the fact that the poet employs the fictitious, but from the fact that he makes verse.²²

Trissino contends that not on account of verses and their quality, but on account of imitation, ought one to be named poet. If one wrote of medicine or of philosophy in verse he would not be called poet, but philosopher and doctor, just as the *Decameron* of Boccaccio and other works like it, although in prose, without any doubt

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁰ "Nel suono, nel sentimento, nella soavità della armonia."

²¹ Pigna, G. B., *I Romanzi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 63.

²² "Poetae igitur nomen non a fingendo, ut putarunt, quia fictis uteretur: sed initio a faciendo versu ductum est" (*Poetices*, lib. i, cap. ii).

can be named poems.²³ The hexameter is very well suited to Greek and Latin on account of its regularity, its lofty tone and its adaptability to idioms and rhetorical figures, as seen in Homer first and then in Vergil; nevertheless Trissino prefers the hendecasyllable in blank verse.²⁴ He believes that Dante invented the *terza rima* in order to approximate the Latin heroic meter, just as Boccaccio invented the *ottava rima* in his *Teseide* for the same reason, for up to his time no one had written of deeds of arms. This *ottava rima* was adopted by almost all those who have since written of arms, that is, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and others. "I, however, wishing to write in this tongue our *Italia liberata da Gotti* (sic)," continues Trissino, "which is a matter of arms, have wished to leave the *terza rima* which Dante invented, and likewise the *ottava rima* invented by Boccaccio, because they did not seem adapted to continued matter on account of the frequent according of the endings, from which arises a certain uniformity of figures, because in these it is necessary always to have relations of two verses to two verses, or of three to three, or of four to four, and so on; a thing which is totally contrary to the continuation of the matter, therefore I dismiss the accord of the endings and retain the verse, that is, the hendecasyllable (the hendecasyllable being superior, as Dante says, to all the other verses of this tongue) called 'versi sciolti' on account of being free from the necessity of making the endings agree. This, then, will be the verse which, according to my idea, is suitable to the heroic poem."

Minturno in his *Arte poetica* calls Dante a heroic poet because he used the *terza rima*, which can be called heroic verse as can the *ottava rima* used by Petrarch, or the "versi sciolti," "which this age has commenced to use." There is also mixed poetry, that is, partly in prose and partly in verse, as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* or the *Ameto* of Boccaccio. He considers that Horace, who wrote his *Ars Poetica* in verse, is no more a poet than Aristotle, who wrote in prose. He points out that the name "epic poet" is derived from the Greek "epos" which really means 'word,' but has come to signify hexameter verse. From this circumstance arises the fact that those who wrote in verse of medicine, music, or philosophy were called epic writers by the common people among the ancients,

²³ *Tutte le opere*, Verona, 1729, p. 94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

when they ought to have been called doctors, musicians, or philosophers. But the nomenclature adopted by the common people conquered; each type of author was called an epic writer. In spite of this usage, Minturno believes that epic poetry can be only in verse.

Castelvetro, like all the commentators of Aristotle, had difficulty in explaining the passage in the first chapter of the *Poetics*, which seemed to be capable of the single inference that the epic could be in prose as well as in verse. That the older epic used every manner of verse is evident from the fact that Aristotle blamed Chaerephon for employing a variety of meter, because the hexameter, the most magnificent and enduring, was recognized by Aristotle as the only suitable meter for the heroic poem. Therefore, concludes Castelvetro, if Aristotle allowed prose at all, it was only to admit its use as possible, but he shows clearly that it had not been commonly employed as a means of expression. Castelvetro concludes²⁵ that the epic cannot be in prose, but must be in verse, although he, too, admits Lucan and Boccaccio into the ranks of poets.

It is curious to see that in France the same discussion was taking place. There was the same endeavor to approximate in French verse the hexameter of the Latin, and the resultant discussion as to which meter was nearest the equivalent of the heroic. There were echoes of the discussion of blank verse.

Fabri, in his *Art poétique* of 1521, refers to the Alexandrine, which had been so much employed in the *chansons de geste*, as an "antique maniere de rithmer," and such it remained until considerably later in the century.

Sebilet (1548) scarcely knows what an epic poem is. In speaking of the different forms of verse he says under the caption "de dis syllabes": "Et a vray dire cés deux dernières especes (*i. e.*, the eight- and ten-syllable line) sont les premières, principales, et plus usitées; pource que l'une sert au François de ce que sert au Latin les vers Elegiaque: et l'autre s'accommode par luy a ce que le Latin escrit en Carme Heroïque."²⁶ It is evident from this that the decasyllable is still the heroic verse. It is only later that the Alexandrine supplants it when Pelletier and Ronsard gave it the impetus which put it once more in vogue.

²⁵ Castelvetro, L., *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta*, Vienna, 1570, p. 20.

²⁶ *Art Poétique François*, ed. crit. pub. par Félix Gaiffe, Paris, 1910, I, v.

According to Pelletier (1555), the Alexandrine is the proper meter for the epic.²⁷ Pelletier contends that the epic is the only genre which gives the true title of poet.²⁸

In the chapter of his *Deffence* devoted to the "long poëme françoys,"²⁹ Du Bellay makes no mention of the question of verse-form, but in the second book³⁰ we find the following: "Autrement qui ne voudroit reigler sa rythme comme j'ai dit il vaudroit beaucoup mieux ne rymmer point, mais faire des vers libres, comme a fait Petrarque en quelque endroit, et de notre tens le seigneur Loys Aleman, en sa non moins docte que plaisante Agriculture. . . . Aussi faudroit-il bien que ces vers non rymez feussent bien charnuz et nerveuz, afin de compenser par ce moyen le default de la rythme." It is interesting to note here the reference to Petrarch and to Alamanni, both of whom had been so frequently mentioned during the course of the discussion in Italy.

Du Bellay uses the expression "vers heroïques" when referring³¹ to the *coq-à-l'âne*. Commenting on this passage, M. Chamard says: "C'est le nom que portait alors le vers décasyllabe (chez les anciens, il désignait l'hexamètre dactylique). On remarquera que pas une fois, dans la *Deffence*, il n'est question de l'Alexandrin. Lorsque Ronsard en 1555, dans le premier livre des *Hymnes*, restaura le grand vers, il lui transporta délibérément la qualification réservée jusqu'alors au décasyllabe, et pour marquer son intention bien nettement, il fit suivre des pièces écrites en Alexandrins de cette indication: *vers héroïques*, tandis qu'il mettait cette autre: *vers communs* aux pièces écrites en décasyllabes."

In his *Art poétique* (1565) Ronsard says that the Alexandrine is the truly heroic French verse. "Les Alexandrins tiennent la place en notre langue, telle que les vers héroïques entre les Grecs et les Latins." In the first preface to the *Franciade* (1572) we find, however: "Si tu me dis, Lecteur, que je devois composer mon ouvrage en vers Alexandrins, pource qu'ils sont pour le jourd'huy

²⁷ *Art Poétique*, II, 3.

²⁸ "L'œuvre heroïque et celui qui donne le pris et le vrei titre de poëte" (II, VIII, 73).

²⁹ *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue francoyse*, édition par Henri Chamard, Paris, 1904.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, ix, pp. 263 ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

plus favorablement receuz de nos Seigneurs et Dames de la Court . . . lesquels vers j'ay remis le premier en honneur, je te responds qu'il m'eust esté cent fois plus aisé d'escire mon œuvre en vers Alexandrins qu'aux autres, d'autant qu'ils sont plus longs, et par consequent moins sujets, sans la honteuse conscience que j'ay qu'ils sentent trop leur prose."³² After he had commenced the *Franciade*, which is in decasyllables, Ronsard says: "Si je n'ai commencé la *Franciade* en vers Alexandrins, lesquels j'ai mis, comme tu sais, en vogue et en honneur, il s'en faut prendre à ceux qui ont puissance de me commander (here, of course, referring to Charles IX) et non à ma volonté." About the same time, in the second preface to the *Franciade* (1573-4), we find "Il ne faut t'esmerveiller, Lecteur, dequoy je n'ay composé ma *Franciade* en vers Alexandrins, qu'autrefois en ma jeunesse, par ignorance, je pensois tenir en nostre langue le rang des carmes Heroïques, encores qu'ils respondent plus aux senaires des Tragiques qu'aux magnanimes vers d'Homere et de Virgile, les estimant pour lors plus convenables aux magnifiques arguments et aux plus excellents conceptions de l'esprit, que les autres vers communs."³³ Ronsard, although not employing the Alexandrine in his epic poem, shows clearly that he is proud of the honor of having restored it, and is without doubt a warm partisan of its use.³⁴

Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, adding nothing new to the discussion, has the following:

Pour un si grand ouvrage en françois accomplir!
 En vers de dix ou douze après il le faut mettre:
 Ces vers la nous prenons pour le grave Hexametre.
 Nos longs vers on appelle Alexandrins, d'autant
 Que le Roman qui va les prouesses contant
 D'Alexandre le grand, l'un des neuf preux de l'aage,
 En ces vers fut escrit d'un Romanzé langage
 Héroïques ainsi les Carmes furent dits
 D'autant que les Heros les hauts gestes iadis
 En ces vers on chanta.³⁵

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³² Ronsard, P. de, *Œuvres*, éd. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre (1887-1893), III, 516.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

³⁴ E. Faguet, *Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1894.

³⁵ *L'Art Poétique de Vauquelin de la Fresnaye*, éd. par Georges Pellissier, Paris, 1885, II. 506 ff.

THE PROLOGUES OF THE *LAY LE FREINE* AND *SIR ORFEO*

The only known copy of the Middle-English Breton *Lay le Freine*, preserved in the famous Auchinleck Manuscript, has a prologue which differs but slightly from the prologue prefixed to two of the three extant copies of the Middle-English Breton *Lay*, *Sir Orfeo*.¹ It is still an open question whether the Prologue originally belonged to the *Lay le Freine* or to *Sir Orfeo*. Lucien Foulet,² the only scholar who has examined the question in detail, held that the verses belonged to the French original of *Sir Orfeo*, and were borrowed for the *Lay le Freine*. His argument can be summed up as follows. A portion of the Prologue (vv. 13-18), as Zupitza³ showed, is made up of phrases taken here and there from the epilogues and prologues of Marie de France's different lays. The *Lay le Freine*, on the other hand, is a "presumably faithful" translation of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne*. One can hardly suppose that the same author was at once a faithful translator and a compiler. M. Foulet granted that it was "possible," but not "very probable." He also pointed out that this Prologue stands alone in Middle-English literature, but that French literature of the thirteenth century provides us with a number of parallels (the prologues of *Doon*, *Tydorel*, the *Lai du Lecheor* and *Tyolet*⁴). M. Foulet believed that it was simply in imitation of these that the contemporary French author of *Orfeo* compiled his prologue. He

¹ The *Auchinleck MS.* W. 4, I, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, early 14th cent. *Orfeo* without the Prologue is written on ff. 300-303 by the scribe who wrote the *Lay le Freine* on ff. 261-262. The text of *Orfeo* in *Harleian MS.* no. 3810, British Museum, early 15th cent. and in *Ashmolean MS.* no. 61, Oxford, later 15th cent. are evidently derived from the same source. Cf. Zielke's edition, Breslau, 1889.

² L. Foulet, The Prologue of *Sir Orfeo*, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXI, no. 2, February 1906, pp. 46-50.

³ J. Zupitza, *Englische Studien*, vol. 10 (1886), p. 42.

⁴ L. Foulet, Marie de France et les lais bretons, *Zeitschrift für Roman. Philologie*, 29 (1905), pp. 19-56: the prologue of the *Lay le Freine* "est l'équivalent anglais du prologue de *Tyolet*." *Tyolet* and the other three lays have been published by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, p. 29 ff.

recognized that the form of the Prologue in the *Orfeo* texts is inferior to that in *le Freine*, but this he ascribed to scribal carelessness.

M. Foulet's two main points rest on assertions which seem to me doubtful. The evidence at best is scant, but such as it is, I think it suggests quite different results. I believe (a) that the Prologue was not written by a French author, (b) that the English author of the Prologue was also the author of the *Lay le Freine*, (c) that this Prologue was borrowed by the author of *Sir Orfeo*.

a. *The Prologue was not written by a French author.*

The prologue of the *Lay le Freine* is not similar to those of the extant thirteenth century French lays. By its form and the nature of its information, it stands as much alone among French lays as among English. It is a serious and well-composed introduction which was intended, perhaps, as Brugger⁶ suggested, not only for the *Lay le Freine*, but for a collection of lays. It may be divided into three parts. In the first part (vv. 1-12), written in the present tense, we have the writer's own commentary on a number of lays which he seems to have just read. It is a brief, just and faithful summary of the contents of the Breton lays. All the varieties of theme which he indicates are to be found in Marie de France's lays, except for the "bourdes and ribaudy" (v. 9). This fact leads M. Foulet⁶ to remark that the author had probably in mind the short French "fabliaux" which exactly answer to this description. In the second part (vv. 13-18) written in the past tense, the writer reports what he has read about the origin of these lays; "so seið ðis rime" (v. 14), in the present tense, refers very likely to Marie's different prologues and epilogues. This, by the way, is the only part which M. Foulet took into consideration. In the third part (vv. 19-28), after a general explanation to his audience of the lays of Britain, the poet comes to the particular one which he is going to retell, the *Lay le Freine*, and asserts that it is "on ensaample fair with alle"⁷ (v. 27).

In comparison with this Prologue, those of the other lays offer notable differences. The prologues of *Tydorel* and *Doon* are very short (not over 6 lines) and of vague import. In the prologue of

⁶ Brugger, *Zts. f. fr. Spr. u. Litt.*, xx, p. 154, n. 103.

⁶ L. Foulet, "The Prologue of *Sir Orfeo*," *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxi, p. 50.

⁷ 23-28 are not to be found in the prologue prefixed to *Sir Orfeo*.

the *Lai du Lecheor* the author develops only the theme of the second part of the prologue of the *Lay le Freine*; in the prologue of *Tyolet*, only that of the second and the third parts. We can say, therefore, that the first part of the *Freine* prologue is an original piece of work. The French authors' treatment, moreover, of the second part, that is to say, of the information they found in Marie's prologues and epilogues as to her sources, is widely different from that of the English author. The latter seems to have chosen carefully and to have translated faithfully the most important and distinctive phrases of Marie about the origin of her lays. This close dependence on Marie's prologues argues familiarity with her lays and not with the later ones. The French lay-writers, on the contrary, let their fancy wander and amplified freely Marie's information, as for instance the author of *Tyolet*, who tells us that the adventures:

"mises estaient en latin
et en escrit em parchemin"*

(vv. 29-30)

or the author of the *Lai du Lecheor* who imagined a fair gathering of ladies and knights and introduced ladies as lay-tellers. Theirs was the tone of the conventional, artificial, sophisticated, half-amused and sceptical French writers, or that of the courtly Chaucer in the prologue to his "Breton lay," *The Franklin's Tale*. The tone of the author of the prologue of the *Lay le Freine* is that of a simple-minded and credulous writer as most of the English writers of romance of that time seem to have been.

b. *The author of the Prologue was the author of the Lay le Freine.*

The belief that the author of the Prologue was English clears the way for the further ascription to him of the *Lay le Freine*. M. Foulet rejected this chiefly because he felt it unlikely that the "presumably faithful translator" of the lay was also the "laborious compiler" of the Prologue. The argument might be of weight if the author of the lay were no more than M. Foulet suggested. But a close comparison of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne* and the English *Lay le Freine* reveals distinctive traits of style and thought on the part

*See L. Foulet's comment on those two lines, *Zts. f. Roman. Philologie*, 29, 1905, pp. 19-56.

of the English poet, which mark in his work an unexpected freedom and originality and prove him to be much more than a mere translator. He modified Marie's style and bettered the story by avoiding her unnecessary repetitions,⁹ suppressing irrelevant comments,¹⁰ shifting certain details of place and character from the place they occupied in her poem to one that seemed to him more appropriate.¹¹ He made a greater use of direct discourse, thus adding directness, power, swiftness, realism to the story.¹² He succeeded in setting out the most important points of the story and in combining the various elements in the plot, as, for instance, in the introductory

⁹ Concerning the birth of the twins, Marie said 8 times, in 85 lines (vv. 11, 15, 35, 41, 67, 70, 83, 85) that the ladies had "dous enfanz," "dous fiz" or "filles." The English writer mentioned the fact only 3 times (vv. 54, 69, 87) and in this reticence and the reshaping of the whole passage gave the fact more importance.

The porter of the abbey in the French poem, orders his daughter to take care of the baby and tells her in detail what she must do (vv. 198, 201-2), and in the following lines (vv. 203-6) what she did is repeated at length. The English writer summed up in one line the porter's orders (v. 201). He likewise summed up in one line (v. 247) Marie's unnecessary passage (vv. 308-12).

¹⁰ The English writer omitted vv. 59-64 in which we are told what happened to the lady who had been falsely accused. She is not mentioned again in either version. Note also omission of vv. 178-180.

¹¹ Concerning the abbess's disclosure to Freine of how the girl was found in the ash-tree and the delivery to her of "the pel and the ring," Marie gave these details to her readers casually (vv. 305-12); the English writer gave motives for this disclosure and delivery, which he shifts from the second part to the first (vv. 241-50). This change made it more closely connected with the rest of the story as it allowed him to suggest Freine's personality and to bring emphasis on the special problem of the second part of the story, i. e., Freine's unknown birth.

He shifted the scene between the porter and his daughter (F. vv. 197-202) to a similar scene between the porter and the abbess (E. vv. 211-24) who is to play, from now on, an important role.

¹² In 6 cases he used direct instead of indirect discourse:

E. vv. 39-42 correspond to F. vv. 15-18

E. vv. 116-18 correspond to F. vv. 95

E. vv. 273-76 correspond to F. vv. 268-70

E. vv. 49-54 correspond to F. vv. 22

E. vv. 220-24 correspond to F. vv. 216-18

E. vv. 279-84 correspond to F. vv. 271-78

(E. stands for English and F. for French).

scene which he most skillfully modified. He introduced a lively dialogue between the lord's messenger and his neighbour and delayed intentionally the telling of the essential fact: the birth of the twins. He kept the fact of the double birth until it might be given as the messenger's news (v. 54) to the neighbour's wife and so be followed by her fatal utterance. Thus the English writer managed a surprise not only for the neighbour but also for the reader, and brought emphasis on the fact that the lady had two children and on the subsequent remark of her neighbour, both important facts for in them lies the knot of the story. He popularized the aristocratic little story and he gave it not only the realism of an actual world in his treatment of nature, and of manners and customs, but he filled it with the very air of his own fourteenth century England.¹³ In brief, his lay can not so much be called a "translation" as a "transformation" of Marie's. But though he dealt freely with his material, he did not deal at all extravagantly with it, he did not allow himself to do more than draw out of his French original what it held in suggestion.

It has already been pointed out that the Prologue is in part a mosaic, a clever combination of phrases borrowed from Marie. Yet the Prologue has also a distinctive character, a real independence of its own. In these qualities of likeness and unlikeness, it corresponds exactly with those which distinguish the English lay from its source. Since the Prologue is used to introduce the lay, since they both evince the same treatment of source material, it seems only reasonable to ascribe them both to the same author. As a final bit of evidence we may note that v. 22:

"Ichil 3ou telle Lay le Frayn,"

is the literal translation of the first line of Marie's *Lai del Fraisne*:

"Le lai del Fraisne vus dirai";

thus proving unquestionably the relationship between the Prologue and the poem.

¹³ See E.'s telling of the maiden's adventures through the winter long moonlit night (E. vv. 145-60, compare with F. vv. 135-52); his characterization of the morning (E. vv. 180-82).

c. *The Prologue was borrowed by the author of Sir Orfeo.*

The evidence from *Orfeo* goes far to support this view. The author of the Prologue was evidently familiar with Marie's works; the author of *Sir Orfeo* shows no sign of direct borrowing. Yet demonstrably he was familiar with the Middle-English version of *le Freine*. For instance, lines 35-36 of *Sir Orfeo* in which the king is said to go:

"Purch wode and over heþ
Into þe wildernes he geþ,"

are clearly reminiscent of lines 147-8 of *Freine*:

"And passed over a wild heþ
Purch feld and purch wode hye geþ."

A phrase about "lovesum eizen" is used for the queen in *Sir Orfeo* (v. 109) and the heroine of the *Lay le Freine* (v. 269), but this is not a striking resemblance as it was so common an expression in the world of romance. The mention in the two lays of a "holow tree," is however, worthy of note. It is said of *Sir Orfeo* that:

"His harp
He hidde in a holwe tree" (v. 265-66)

whereas it is said in the *Lay le Freine* that the maiden placed the child in an ash-tree whose:

"bodi was holow as mani on is" (v. 176)

This detail was the *Freine* poet's own invention and belonged naturally enough to the story. In *Orfeo* its more casual use suggests borrowing. Had we the French text of *Orfeo* and could we show that the Middle-English translator had freshened it with his humor, simplicity and literalness as did the author of the *Freine*, we might rely more largely on the parallelism in style and spirit between the two poems. *Orfeo* has perhaps, the maturer touch, which would be natural, if it were, as I believe, a later poem by the same author as *le Freine*, but in any case the *heð* and *geð* rhyme establishes the dependence of *Orfeo* upon the Middle-English *Freine*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Compare also v. 267 *Orfeo* with v. 150 *Freine*; v. 135 *Orfeo* with v. 220 *Freine*, about the weather. Winter time, birds "on bou3," "foules" are mentioned in the two lays.

If this relationship is true for the two poems, it must also be true for the prologues. M. Foulet admitted the inferiority of the *Prologue* in the two late texts of *Orfeo* in which it is found. His own theory of scribal carelessness could explain the situation much better if the prologue were indeed simply an addition foisted from *le Freine* to *Orfeo*, and did not belong to the author's original version. It should also be noted that the transformation in *Orfeo* of line 3 of the *Freine* prologue:

"Layes þat ben in harping"

to:

"De layes þat ben of harping"

is a most suggestive change. There is no doubt that the preposition was originally *in* and that the line meant "lays that are sung with the harp." It has been changed to *of* in *Sir Orfeo* in order that the line might apply especially to *Sir Orfeo* and mean "lays which tell about harping." It is awkward and out of place in lines which were intended to give a characterization of Breton lays in general.

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SCHELANDRE ET SHAKESPEARE.

C'est un des lieux communs de l'histoire littéraire d'évoquer le nom de Shakespeare pour caractériser d'un seul trait la poésie dramatique en France avant Corneille. MM. Fournel, Rigal, Haraszti et tant d'autres ont insisté sur le fait que le "théâtre indépendant" des Hardy, des Schelandre et des Théophile paraît avoir jailli de la même source que les systèmes dramatiques espagnol et anglais. Néanmoins on s'est contenté le plus souvent de constater l'analogie sans en approfondir les détails et sans plaider la possibilité d'une influence littéraire.

Ce n'est pas à nous de combler la lacune qui demanderait une étude spéciale de longue haleine. Toutefois, les lignes suivantes, consacrées à un rapprochement de Schelandre et du roi des auteurs dramatiques nous fourniront l'occasion d'établir la mesure dans laquelle l'influence de Shakespeare aurait pu se faire valoir sur les auteurs français de son temps.

Il y a peu de pièces qui se prêtent mieux à une telle étude que les "Tyr et Sidon" de Schelandre. La première des pièces de ce nom est une tragédie publiée en 1608 (cf. l'excellente édition de Haraszti, *Société des Textes Français Modernes*, 1908) ; la seconde, une tragi-comédie en deux journées, de 1628, célèbre à cause de la préface "révolutionnaire" de François Ogier. La tragédie de 1608 fut transformée en "seconde journée" de la tragi-comédie de 1628, tandis que la "première journée" de celle-ci est une tragédie toute nouvelle (cf. l'édition de la tragi-comédie dans le tome VIII de *l'Ancien Théâtre Français, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*). Pour ce qui concerne le sujet, il est entièrement romanesque. Haraszti, dans la copieuse préface de son édition, passe en revue les analogies du sujet (p. xlii ss.) et il effleure les rapports possibles du sujet principal avec *Pyrame et Thisbé* et avec *Roméo et Juliette*. L'histoire de "Pyrame et Thisbé," puisée dans Ovide, fut jouée déjà en 1598 à Lille ; quant à Roméo, il fut créé par Shakespeare vers 1594, mais cela d'après une nouvelle italienne qui ne manqua pas de trouver, même avant Shakespeare, un metteur en scène français (v. l'édition de Haraszti, p. xliii, note 1). D'ailleurs, nous savons que des acteurs anglais firent en Allemagne et en France des excursions efficaces à l'époque en question. Ajoutez-y que cette époque fut particulièrement favorable à la réception d'influences étrangères : (1) à la fin du XVI^e siècle et au commencement du XVII^e la cour d'Angleterre attire les gens de lettres français presque autant qu'au XVIII^e ; (2) pour la littérature française, cette époque signifie un relâchement dans le régime des règles, une orientation franche et hospitalière vers les formes les plus différentes de l'art et de la beauté.

Et nunc venimus ad fortissimum : Schelandre partit pour l'Angleterre en 1608 et dédia sa tragédie à Jacques, fils de Marie Stuart. On ignore s'il a achevé ou non sa pièce avant de s'embarquer. Mais même en admettant que sa tragédie n'ait pas reçu de changements pendant son séjour à Londres, qui lui aurait permis de subir l'influence directe des pièces de Shakespeare, il est possible et même très probable : (1) que les représentations des pièces shakespeareiennes au "Globe" ont fait sur Schelandre un effet considérable et ont imprimé leur cachet au moins sur le "Tyr et Sidon" de 1628 ; (2) que les représentations de ces pièces par les troupes vagabondes anglaises ont initié notre auteur à la connaissance du système

anglais même avant son voyage en Angleterre. Enfin, il n'est pas moins vraisemblable que Schelandre savait l'anglais: la connaissance de la langue du pays devait être, même à la cour du fils de Marie Stuart, une condition tant soit peu nécessaire.

Nous venons de montrer les voies possibles par lesquelles l'influence de Shakespeare aurait pu s'exercer sur la tragi-comédie et probablement sur la tragédie de Schelandre. Cela nous autorise à relever les points identiques dans "Roméo et Juliette" et dans "Tyr et Sidon."

Le sujet principal de "Tyr et Sidon" est analogue à celui de "Roméo et Juliette." Belcar et Méliane, Roméo et Juliette appartiennent à *deux familles ennemies*. C'est ce qui les force de garder le secret et de se servir d'une nourrice comme intermédiaire. Au début, les amants se flattent d'un dénouement favorable, d'autant plus qu'une réconciliation entre les deux familles ne paraît pas être exclue (*T. et S.*: rétablissement probable de la paix; *R. et J.*: essais de pacification du prince). Mais survient la péripétie tragique: la haine et l'hostilité des deux familles *sont exaspérées par la mort d'un membre de la famille de l'amoureuse* (Léonte, frère de Méliane est assassiné par des soldats sidoniens; Thibaut meurt de la main de Roméo). *Le héros est menacé par la vengeance de la famille offensée* (Belcar condamné à mort est sauvé par sa bien-aimée; Roméo est exilé). Le dénouement de ces "funestes amours" est dû, dans "Roméo et Juliette" autant que dans le "Tyr et Sidon" de 1608, à une *méprise fatale* (Méliane se laisse brûler, persuadée qu'elle est de la mort de son amant; Roméo se tue sur le corps de sa maîtresse qu'il croit morte: tous les deux sont dans l'erreur). Notons en passant que pour le dénouement, celui de "Pyrame et Thisbé" est plus près de "Roméo"; Pyrame commet un suicide, puisqu'il croit Thisbé morte; Thisbé se poignarde à la vue du cadavre de son amant. Le décor marin où se jouent les derniers actes du drame de "Tyr et Sidon" rappellent moins l'Italie de la Renaissance que la Grèce du roman soi-disant érotique.

Outre ces analogies d'ordre plus général et qui peuvent s'expliquer en supposant une source identique, il y en a de plus particulières et, par là, plus convaincantes encore: ce sont des analogies concernant certaines scènes et la manière de traiter le sujet tragique.

Notamment les scènes entre l'héroïne et la nourrice qui ont pour sujet la mort de Léonte d'une part et celle de Thibaut d'autre part présentent des ressemblances on ne peut plus frappantes. Ces ressemblances deviennent plus significatives encore quand on se rend compte de ce que dans les "Histoires tragiques" de Boistuan et dans leurs traductions anglaises cette scène a un développement différent: Juliette s'y montre une jeune fille faible et tendre qui tombe en défaillance et près de laquelle la nourrice a le rôle d'une simple consolatrice. Dans "Tyr et Sidon" (acte III, scène 2, cf. acte III, scène première de la Seconde Journée de 1628) et dans "Roméo et Juliette" (acte III, scène 2) l'héroïne est comme l'incarnation de la femme qui aime avec tout le dévouement et avec tout l'égoïsme de l'amour. Les deux textes comparés sont plus convaincants:

Romeo and Juliet, III, 2.

J. Ay me, what news? why dost thou wring thy hands?

Nurse. Ah, well-a-day! he's dead, he's dead, he's dead.

We are undone, lady, we are undone.

Tyr et Sidon (1608), III, 2.

M. Ha ma mere est ce vous? que d'estranges tristesses?

Eurydice. Quelle perte Madame! en l'avril de son aage
Voir perir sans ressource
un si grand personnage. . .

(L'héroïne ayant plaint son amant.)

N. Will you speak well of him that kill'd your cousin?

J. Shall I speak ill of him that is my husband?

Why follow'd not, when she said "Tybalt's dead,"

Thy father, or thy mother, nay, or both?

Wash they his wounds with tears: mine shall be spent,

When theirs are dry, for Romeo's banishment.

(Plus avant, la nourrice ayant injurié le héros, l'héroïne l'en réprimande.)

J. Blister'd be thy tongue
For such a wish! he was not born to shame:

Eu. Quoy! vous en souvient-il?

M. Quoy! pour aucun esclandre
Pourroy-je en son endroit
oublieuse me rendre?

Eu. Et malgré Tiribaze?

M. Et malgré tout respect.
"Nul devoir contre amour ne doit avoir effect." . . .
L'un n'estoit que mon frere,
et l'autre est un moy-mesme,
Mon mal me greve plus que
l'encombre d'autrui.

M. O tison de discorde, outil de perfidie,
Vieille sans naturel, . . .

Upon his brow shame is
ashamed to sit;
For 'tis a throne where hon-
our may be crown'd
Sole monarch of the universal
earth.
O, what a beast was I to
chide at him!

Va, ne me tente plus. . . .
Je vous suivray partout mon
soleil, ma chere ame,
Bravant de vos haineux les
armes et le blasme.

(A la fin de la scène pourtant la paix est faite entre
maîtresse et nourrice, cette dernière ayant offert ses
services et promis de travailler au salut du héros menacé
par la justice.)

La tragi-comédie de 1628 est marquée au coin de l'influence shakespearienne. La Première Journée commence par un acte mettant en scène les préparatifs d'une bataille et même plusieurs scènes de bataille. On nous mène successivement dans les deux camps ennemis. Au lever du rideau nous assistons à la prière de Léonte, prince de Tyr qui supplie les dieux de l'assister, ce qui ne peut manquer de nous rappeler la prière de Richmond avant la bataille (*Richard III*, acte v, scène 3). Du reste, tout ce premier acte ressemble au dernier de *Richard III*.

Il est plus intéressant encore d'envisager le personnage de Zorote, vieillard sidonien qui réunit en lui la figure comique du mari trompé et la figure plus sérieuse du jaloux qui se venge, fait tuer son rival et finit par être exécuté. Deux caractères se contre-balaient dans les mêmes proportions, à peu près, que dans Shylock, éternel type de l'équilibre si étrange et si inquiétant des deux points de vue de sympathie et d'antipathie où l'auteur semble s'être placé alternativement pour le traiter. (Cf. surtout *Tyr et Sidon*, Prem. Journée, actes III et IV où Timadon, écuyer de Léonte, se sert d'un stratagème pour écarter le mari fâcheux, et *Merchant of Venice*, acte II où Lorenzo et ses amis enlèvent Jessica.)

Tyr et Sidon n'a rien de l'économie rigoureuse et rationnelle des tragédies raciniennes: les personnages sont plus nombreux qu'il n'en faudrait pour l'action essentielle, et les scènes secondaires trahissent la tendance de l'auteur d'approfondir le détail pittoresque, lyrique et épique. Tandis que les soldats de Tyr ont encore quelque chose du chœur impersonnel, les deux pêcheurs qui retrouvent le corps de Cassandre sont des pêcheurs "pur sang," qui rappellent de près les trois pêcheurs de *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (acte III, scène première). Notez que "Pericles" date de 1608 ç.-à.-d.

d'une époque où Schelandre devait avoir été au fait des événements littéraires de Londres. Les noms significatifs des assassins (La Ruyne, La Desbauche) viennent encore de Shakespeare.

La place nous manque pour approfondir la question de style. Notons toutefois que la Première Journée a le style plus animé, moins lyrique et surtout moins noyé dans le marais des allusions mythologiques et des maximes. Le style dramatique des contemporains de Shakespeare mériterait de faire l'objet d'une étude détaillée.

Somme toute, nous nous flattons d'avoir rendu très probable que les "Tyr et Sidon" de Schelandre reflètent et représentent en France le système anglais et, plus précisément, le système de Shakespeare. Il faut lire ces pièces pour se rendre compte de ce que, malgré les longueurs et les naïvetés de l'auteur français, on a raison de regretter la perte de ses autres tragédies qui, peut-être, contribueraient à éclaircir la question de l'influence de Shakespeare sur le drame français du XVII^e siècle.

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SOME EARLY TRACES OF RABELAIS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

Collections of early English references to Rabelais have been made by Mr. Charles Whibley and Mr. W. F. Smith,¹ summarily by Sir Sidney Lee,² and most comprehensively by Mr. A. H. Upham.³ The evidence thus gathered shows clearly enough the low state of Rabelais's reputation in Great Britain during the century preceding the appearance of Urquhart's translation. But perhaps it is worth while to offer a few additional items which are, for one reason or another, of special interest. Whibley and Upham give the reference to Rabelais in the anti-Marprelate *Almond for a Parrot* (1589-90) as the earliest in English litera-

¹ *Revue des Etudes rabelaisiennes*, I (1903), 1 ff.; 217 ff.

² *The French Renaissance in England*, New York, 1910, 161 ff.

³ *French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908, Ch. V.

ture.⁴ Some prior references to Gargantua are not to be taken as certainly connected with Rabelais.⁵ Earlier than the *Almond for a Parrot* passage, however, is the following sentence from *The Praise of Nothing* (1585), by 'E. D.', probably Sir Edward Dyer: "The rest which are delighted in the study hereof, I refer to the macheronicall phantasies of Merlinus Cocaius, and sleepeie *Phantasmata* of Francois Rabilois, men greatly traueled in this business."⁶ And earlier yet is a passage in Simon Patericke's Epistle Dedicatory to his translation (1577) of Gentillet's treatise against Machiavelli: "For then Sathan being a disguised person among the French in the likeness of a merry ieaster acted a Comoedie, but shortly ensued a woefull Tragedie." Eduard Meyer takes this as a reference to Rabelais.⁷ Both these citations are characteristically oblivious of Rabelais the humanist, associating him as they do with burlesque writing and diabolical jest.

Somewhat as in the passage from 'E. D.', Rabelais later has a place in a conventional list of burlesque encomia such as is often given in works of this kind.⁸ Upham discusses at length the possibility of the influence of Rabelais upon John Taylor, the Water Poet, and cites many instances of his use of the name Gargantua. Once, it may be added, Taylor does mention Rabelais by name.

Old Homer wrot of
Frogges and Mice,
And Rablaies wrot of
Nittes and Lice
And Virgill of
A Flye.⁹

This passage, it must be admitted, is not calculated to convince us that Taylor knew much of Rabelais at first hand.

We look in vain for an early English defence of Rabelais. Gabriel Harvey once mentions him in a favorable context, in a note

⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, n. d., III, 341.

⁵ Upham, *op. cit.*, 225.

⁶ Sir Edward Dyer, *The Writings in Prose and Verse*, ed. A. B. Grosart, Fuller's Worthies Library, 1872, 114.

⁷ *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, Weimar, 1897, 20.

⁸ For such lists, cf. McKerrow's note in Nashe, *Works*, IV, 389, and also John Taylor, *Works Comprised in the Folio Edition of 1630*, Spenser Society, 1869, 545-46.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 364.

which probably dates about 1579: "Placent lepida; valent seria; florent animosa et magnifica ingenia. Qualia ipsius Quintiliani, Vallae, Fortij, Lutheri, Smithi, Rami, talium perpaucorum. Huc etiam Ferdinandus Corduba, Agrippa, Morus, Paracelsus, Floravantus, Aretinus, Rabelaeus, Machiavellus, Gandinus, Cosmopolita, Bartasius."¹⁰ Another note—"Panurge, a cuccu"—probably indicates that at this time Harvey had some first-hand knowledge of Rabelais.¹¹ Later Harvey, in condemning Nashe, condemns Aretine and "Rabelays" also.¹² Sir John Harington braves public opinion by imitating the worst parts of Rabelais, but this he does without venturing on a defence of his master.¹³ In the *Apology* prefixed to his notorious *Metamorphoses of Ajax* a busybody is represented as reporting to Harington the comment of "M. Zoilus, M. Momus, and three or four more good natured gentlemen of the same crew," when they first looked at his book. "When they found *Rabbles* named, then they were at home; they looked for pure stuff when he was cited for an author."¹⁴ Later Rabelais is accused of being "a condemned Atheist by the last council of Trent,"¹⁵ and this accusation is repeated by Thomas Lodge. "Hire him to write a comedie, he is as arrant an Atheist as Rabelais in his Pantagruel."¹⁶

The group of borrowings from Rabelais in the interlude *Lingua* deserves special consideration. The author, probably John Tomkins or Tomkis,¹⁷ shows himself familiar not only with the name of Rabelais but with some details from his work. The name occurs in the following speech of the Vice Mendacio: "I helped Herodotus to pen some part of his 'Muses,' lent Pliny ink to write his history; rounded Rabelais in the ear, when he historified Pantagruel."¹⁸ And a little later on he gives a list of romances:

¹⁰ *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Stratford, 1913, 119.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 139. Cf. Rabelais, Book III, chs. 9 ff.

¹² Lee, *op. cit.*, 161.

¹³ There is a dissertation by G. Rehfeld, *Sir John Harington, ein Nachahmer Rabelais*, Halle a. S., 1914. This I have not seen.

¹⁴ *The Metamorphoses of Ajax*, reprinted, Chiswick, 1814, 4.

¹⁵ *Ulysses upon Ajax*, reprinted, Chiswick, 1814, 13.

¹⁶ *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madnesse* (1596). Thomas Lodge, *Complete Works*, iv, Hunterian Club, XLVII, 71.

¹⁷ F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, Boston, 1908, II, 70.

¹⁸ Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix, 365.

"But for the 'Mirror of Knighthood,' 'Bevis of Southampton,' 'Palmerin of England,' 'Amadis of Gaul,' 'Huon de Bordeaux,' 'Sir Guy of Warwick,' 'Martin Marprelate,' 'Robin Hood,' 'Gargantua,' 'Gerileon,' and a thousand such exquisite monuments as these, no doubt but they breathe in my breath up and down."¹⁹ Here for once the folk-book Gargantua is unmistakably distinguished from Rabelais's own work.²⁰ In Actus Tertius, Scaena Quinta, Lingua makes a speech in which Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and English words are mixed. The following comment on this speech may be reminiscent of the episode of the frozen words in Rabelais IV, chs. 55 and 56: "I am persuaded these same language-makers have the very quality of cold in their wit, that freezeth all heterogeneous languages together, congealing English tin, Grecian gold, Roman latten all in a lump."²¹ In Actus Quartus, Scaena Quarta, the character Tobacco enters, talking unintelligible gibberish, and we are reminded of the speeches in foreign tongues which Panurge makes when he first meets Pantagruel (II, ch. 9). It is certain that the author of *Lingua* had this episode in mind here, for just as Epistemon says in commenting on Panurge's second speech, "Je croy que c'est langage des antipodes," so Phantastes says after Tobacco's first speech, "Ha, ha, ha, ha! this, in my opinion, is the tongue of the Antipodes."²² In Actus Tertius, Scaena Quinta, the remark occurs, "In hell they say Alexander is no better than a cobbler,"²³ and this goes back to the first item in Epistemon's Lucianic account of the occupations of great heroes in the lower world: "Car je vois Alexandre le Grand qui repetassoit de vieilles chausses, et ainsi guaignoit sa pauvre vie" (II, ch. 30). Perhaps the English translator confused *chausses* and *chaussure*. Trivial as these instances are, they are more precise than most of the Elizabethan traces of Rabelais.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ Sometimes Gargantua seems to mean Rabelais's Gargantua, as in the English *Wagner Book* of 1594, where we read of "his courser so firme, nimble ioynted, tall and large, such a one as might have been the son of Gargantua's mare." Quoted by A. E. Richards, *The English Wagner Book of 1594*, *PMLA.*, xxiv (1909), 32. Cf. Rabelais, I, ch. 16.

²¹ Dodsley, IX, 393.

²² *Ibid.*, 421.

²³ *Ibid.*, 396.

Although Mr. W. F. Smith speaks of the author of *Lingua* as an extensive borrower from Rabelais,²⁴ it is the exactness rather than the extent of his borrowings that is remarkable.

The perplexing question of Thomas Nashe's relation to Rabelais remains unsettled. Mr. R. B. McKerrow, whose thorough editing of Nashe gives his opinion much weight, has not been able to find a clear case of borrowing from Rabelais in his author, and doubts the influence,²⁵ although Upham, Lee, and Whibley are convinced of Nashe's discipleship, as is W. F. Smith in his recent book.²⁶ McKerrow rightly insists that parallelisms in style count for practically nothing in determining this question, and for sheer lack of evidence we must reluctantly accept his negative conclusions. Some passages in Rabelais may certainly be used to illustrate Nashe. Thus Nashe writes about ways of sleeping in order to dream true, and among other methods mentions sleeping under a laurel tree.²⁷ McKerrow says, "I can give no contemporary references to these superstitions."²⁸ In this case it should be noted that Panurge, when he is seeking a true dream, suggests putting under his pillow some branches of laurel (III, ch. 13). Again, Nashe says: ". . . Like the French-men wee shall fight valiantly at the first, but quaille in the midst,"²⁹ and Rabelais: "Seigneur, telle est la nature et complexion des François que ilz ne valent que à la premiere pointe. Lors ilz sont pires que des diables; mais, s'ilz sejourment, ilz sont moins que femmes" (I, ch. 48). When Nashe calls the father of Orion "Hireus"³⁰ his editor remarks: "Hyreus is correct, but the error may well be Nashe's."³¹ Rabelais also has "Hireus" (III, ch. 17).

But the parallels fail to accumulate. When Nashe launches forth on such subjects as the praise of drinking, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*,³² or the dispraise of lawyers, in *Lenten Stuffle*,³³ he has every inducement to draw heavily on the material offered by the humor and erudition of Rabelais, and the fact that there are no extensive borrowings creates a strong presumption that there are none at all.

²⁴ *Rabelais in his Writings*, Cambridge, 1918, 218.

²⁵ Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, v, 128 ff.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*

²⁷ *Works*, III, 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 332.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 253.

³¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 428.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 264 ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, III, 214 ff.

There is little ground, then, for Lee's remark that "the popular association of Coryat with Rabelais shows how Rabelais' English reputation grew after Nashe had confirmed its footing."³⁴ The seventeenth century references gathered by Lee and Upham fail to show any material increase in the prestige or influence of Rabelais. Burton's references are uniformly slighting.³⁵ Some of the evidence suggests that he was read in the original French rather than in an English translation. His works were in the library which Drummond of Hawthornden had collected by 1611.³⁶ Just as Howell bequeaths his knowledge of French to a lady, "and it may help her something to understand Rabelais,"³⁷ so Sir Thomas Browne remarks of the *langue d'oc*: "Without some knowledge herein you cannot exactly understand the Works of Rablais."³⁸ Even after Urquhart's translation appeared in 1653 we can find such erroneous ideas as appear in the commendatory verses signed 'N. D.', addressed to Richard Head, and prefixed to the First Part of his *English Rogue* (1665):

Guzman, Lazaro, Buscon, and Francion,
Till thou appear'dst did shine as at high Noon.
Thy Book's now extant; those that judge of Wit,
Say, They and Rablais too fall short of it.³⁹

It appears, then, that most English writers from 1553 to 1653 were like Hazlitt's common-place critic, who "speaks of Boccaccio as a very licentious writer, and thinks the wit in Rabelais quite extravagant, though he never read either of them."

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³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 165.

³⁵ *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I, Sec. II, Mem. II, Subs. II, and Mem. IV, Subs. IV; Part III, Sect. IV, Mem. II, Subs. I.

³⁶ *Poetical Works*, ed. L. E. Kastner, Manchester, 1913, I, xviii.

³⁷ Upham, *op. cit.*, 261.

³⁸ *Works*, ed. Charles Sayle, Edinburgh, 1907, III, 320.

³⁹ Quoted by Frank Wadleigh Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery*, Boston, 1907, I, 212.

CHAUCER'S CHEERFUL CYNICISM

Be not to rakel ('rash') though thou sitte warme
For if thou be, certayn, it wol thee harme.

Troilus and Criseyde.

Like Kipling's god, Chaucer was always on the side of the big battalions. He was, though no democrat, always with the majority. His ultimate convictions were those for which a heavy vote would be cast in any barracks, hotel lobby, or Rotary Club. They were such as no man ever had to die for. He believed that it is agreeable to be comfortable. He believed that sense pleasures are delightful. He believed that the inevitable must be accepted—his nearest approach to heroism. And he believed that acquiescence in status and non-committal deference towards prevalent ideals insures the fullest possible harmony of pleasure and comfort. Besides he believed that skillful and melodious poetry is a harmless and enchanting recreation, and for the poet the worthy occupation of all his highest powers. Such was Chaucer's faith.

Now the creative production of Chaucer is enchanting. Its music is charming and not often cloying, varied and not often unnatural, delicate yet very masculine. His painting of the spectacle of life is multiform, rich, clear, and brilliant. And his retelling of old tales animates them and hitches them on by hook or crook to every man's experience.

And so Chaucer's poems are more than recreation. Few are the English poets who have observed our world at once as sensitively and sanely. Few were able to understand so much, and rarely miss the humor. Accidentally and in defiance of his creed, he is ever and again displaying a fragment of the real through a rent in the apparent, holding up the wished to the outdoor light of the experienced, with a modest wink of tragic mirth. And at such times he is unqualifiedly great.

But Chaucer shrank from the responsibility of greatness. He strove to save himself and others from the pangs of thought.

Had his own profound reflections forced him to conclude that human nature is immutable, that vanity is the essence of experience and consequently that a wise man could do no more than tolerate and try to cheer his fellows? Such would be an almost holy cynicism.

Or was he so exclusively the artist that meaning and value were irrelevant for him? So would say his more infatuated pious apologists.

The unbiased, modern moralist would say that Chaucer simply didn't have the nerve to think things through! He perceived, but the price of interpretation was too great for him to pay. With the catholicity of a commercial traveler he chose to live and let live, he who could have done so much to help men to live well. Nothing short of courage proportionate to his observation, imagination, and ear could have enabled Chaucer to be a leader for his age and race. The world bitterly needed a man whose sense of fact would widen his lips to an ironic smile when the fanatic's face grew long, whose warm participation in our common nature would enable him to fully sympathize, and who none the less could in an age of rampant cynicism ponder out a few limited beliefs on which to base a fuller life. But it had to wait for Shakespeare. For Chaucer lacked that daring for all his manliness. And so he was a benevolent and cheerful cynic.

Chaucer was, in other words, a man of the world, worldly. For him, of course, as for all of us in our failures there were adequate reasons. His was the rare temperament and intelligence which admirably perceives how much there is to be said on both sides of every question. His was the extraordinary sympathy which could express the sentiments attendant on credulity he did not share. The faith in supernatural intervention could scarcely be more beautifully uttered than in the stanzas in *The Man of Law's Tale* from which the following lines are taken:

Men mighten asken why she was not slayn?

And I answer to that demaunde agayn,
Who saved Daniel in the horrible cave,

No wight but god, that he bar in his herte.

With such a gift of imaginative sympathy the encouragement was insidious to rest content with mere expression, as many readers suppose that Shakespeare did. And it is perfectly natural that he should not make the requisite exertion, painful for such a balanced mind, to think out preferences. Probably he had to be a cynic since he couldn't be a hero.

Besides, how could Chaucer have been a free spirit? He was sold out to aristocracy, chivalry, and artificiality before his

apparently slow-maturing mind had approached discretion. When he was about seventeen years old he was already one of the uniformed embodiments of "conspicuous waste" for the royal family, as his father had been before him. About the time he was twenty-seven he was granted the first of two life-pensions, as one of the valets of the king's household. And what valet was ever other than a cynic?

From 1368 to the end of his life Chaucer's fortune was more or less completely dependent on the favor of the ambitious and intriguing John of Gaunt. The *Complaint of Mars*, *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Book of the Duchess* were probably all written at his behest. *The Parlement of Foules* was written in symbolic flattery of the match between Richard II and Anne, and *The Legend of Good Women* was most likely written in repayment for the privilege Chaucer had just received at the hands of that queen of securing a permanent deputy to earn his salary as Comptroller of the Wool Customs and of the Petty Customs. How could a man, however great a genius, think bravely and write with unfettered honesty who was the constant holder of government sinecures so varied in kind that he could not have been qualified for all, the recipient of daily pitchers and annual tuns of wine and the beneficiary of pensions often called for in advance? Certainly Chaucer relied on proved intellectual loyalty, not honesty, when in the last fragment he is known to have written, the Envoy to *The Complaint to His Empty Purse*, he unequivocally implored Henry IV, the "verray King" late supplanter of Richard II to "have minde upon (his) supplicacioun!" The words to his purse in that poem, "beth hevy ageyn, or elles mot I dye!" are indisputably humorous, but equally they are a tragic demand for the price of his moral independence.

Perhaps this inference from Chaucer's life would seem arbitrary and extreme if the same whimsical postponement of moral values to consideration of safety, comfort and pleasure did not appear in his poems. At any rate readers might be completely excused for ignoring it. But what can one think—if he perversely *will* think when he is reading diverting stories and charming poetry—when he finds Chaucer constantly assuming that the most interesting people are members of royal families, or at the very lowest, knights, and always treating churls with good natured condescension as individuals, with contempt as a group? For

Chaucer quotes Dante quite beautifully in *The Wife of Bath's Tale* to the effect that one should take "for the grettest gentil man" him who is the "most vertuuous alway," inasmuch as "genterye is not annexed to possessioun."

The only thing he can think is that Chaucer had the insight to understand and intellectually approve the greater poet's conception of true gentility but lacked the prejudice-flouting courage to validate that belief. He might have done so, for instance, by putting into the mouth of the poor parson a thoroughly lively, interesting story full of the kind of observation such a man would have had superb opportunities to make, and of the sober but invigorating humor which we have to assume in him in order to credit his existence.

If Chaucer had deeply believed that nobility was an affair of character he would not have allowed the fact that the revolutionists burned his patron's palace to prevent him from giving any consideration to their just protests except what is implied in his scornful allusion to the tumult stirred by "Jakke Straw and his meynee."

How could the observer who saw that the fundamental difference between a great general and an "outlaw" is merely one of the magnitude of his depredations and the number of his murders seriously present the knight-mercenary as "verray parfit?" He could because his perceptions were not more dynamic than his prudence. For Chaucer resembled the good-natured cynical Host, who warned the manciple not to be too severe in his strictures on the cook lest sometime the cook, in vengeance, expose his business tricks. He set up no exalted standard by which to measure his characters, because he did not enjoy having ideals and practice too searchingly compared. He wanted to be thought to approve of goodness as goodness. But he made no attempt to conceal his feeling that goodness was the specialty of a group set apart. The good were those who took his advice,

Flee fro the prees, and dwell with sothfastnesse,
Suffyce unto thy good, though hit be smal.

This world being hopelessly evil from their point of view they were advised not to attempt realizing their ideals on earth;

Tempest thee nought al croked to redresse,
In trust of hir that turneth as a bal.

They had their choice between participation in life and goodness, add they were welcome to their reward. The other alternative included wickedness not too disreputable, revealed only after it was too late for disgrace, and common sense and fun. As for him that was his choice. He attempted no synthesis of intelligence and goodness, despite his active humor.

That is why his good people are so mawkishly other-worldly. In the *Physician's Tale* he tells us that Virginia often feigned sickness in order to get out of going to parties "wher lykly was to treten of folye." And Constance, though she too is a liar, always prefers goodness for its own sake to happiness. Arviragus compels his wife, the doubly doting Dorigen, to keep her adulterous promise because pledges must be kept. And the poor parson, who is, with Chaucer's obvious connivance, a bore in the eyes of the host and the pilgrims, preaches prolixly, as he frowns upon mere entertainment. And in the course of his disquisition he warns husbands not to love their wives too much, and bids them ignore their sex except for breeding purposes.

Chaucer's own ideas about love are in the *Canturbury Tales* entrusted to the vulgar personages in whose force and bluntness he exults with the delight characteristic of a timid and cynical man. He comes near to being honest where his contemporaries would least expect to find his own opinions, in the *Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale*. By overlaying his protest against the ideal of celibacy with the tawdry sensuality of the gross sexualist, he saves himself from a committal.

But he expresses the ascetic ideal he despised with a frequency perhaps calculated to take the place of earnestness. He unctuously relates the ridiculous tale of Cecelia who married with a fixed determination to remain a virgin. He himself joins, by more than one hymn, in the popular Mariolatry of his day. And his depiction in *The Prioress's Tale* of the little chorister who always knelt before the wayside figures of the Virgin and who was killed, before adolescence, sweetly still a virgin, has brought pathetic tenderness to the breasts of sentimental cynics in our day.

Chaucer's conception of sex is diabolically cynical. Only a silly reader, of course, would protest against the medieval indecencies of the tales he vouchsafes permission to skip. Any man who was neither prudish nor prurient would chuckle at them, and note with amusement their superior naturalness, and strength

and delicacy of characterization. But it is not necessary to stop with the remark that Chaucer rejoiced in life and was not repelled by any of its obvious manifestations however naked. The further observation may be made that when he tells of the phenomena pertaining exclusively to passion he is exuberant, sympathetic, and convincing. He knew all about the love that sometimes passes in a month. He wished—and he was then in his warmest though weakest mood—that it might last forever, “cerclen hertes alle,” and never inflict a lasting injury. “Allas! alas! that ever love was sin,” he exclaimed with the lascivious wife of Bath. But without excepting the idealized lust of *Troilus and Criseyde*, exclusively bodily love was the only variety Chaucer understood. In some poems, to be sure, the negligee of courtly adoration, lamentations, swooning and reticence about speaking the beloved’s name is made use of to conceal the flesh. But nothing else but flesh is ever sought or found.

Chaucer plainly believed that for gentle people love must seem spiritual and beautiful and mysterious, but that for all men it was essentially a transitory sport. The horrifying satire of Tolstoi’s “Kreuzer Sonata” is perfectly appropriate to Chaucer’s idealized love. With so cynical a conception of love, such obliviousness of the possibility of love which embraces the entire being and by affection links periods of passion and endures beyond them, it is not to be wondered at that Chaucer’s usual presentation of marriage was sardonic. His own marriage seems to have been in conformity with, if not one determinant of, his cynical attitude. For the best evidence indicates that it was thru his wife Phillipa, one of the Ladies of the Chamber to Queen Phillipa, that he maintained influence with John of Gaunt. If, as seems likely, Phillipa Chaucer was the sister of John’s mistress and later wife, Chaucer’s calculations are intelligible.

Chaucer’s religious cynicism, however, cannot be charged to the too early-waking Phillipa. He consistently pretended that orthodoxy must be sound in spite of his unusual penetration into the mystery of evil, and his fantastic interest in such problems of scholastic theology as the compatibility of foreknowledge and free will. With the decorum familiar at funerals, he regularly paid his own respects to dogmas which were, so far as he saw or cared, defunct. An occasional wink behind his handkerchief in-

dicated to the worldly that all would be as usual following the ceremony. The pious were meanwhile cheerfully deceived by endless sanctimonious extracts from Boethius and the church fathers.

His complacent satire on worldly and parasite ecclesiastics might seem an exhibition of passionate interest in justice and truth modified by a genial, catholic humor were it not for the fact that such satire was so familiar in his time, and so unquestionably warranted, that it was altogether safe. No "clerk" was in a position to cut down Chaucer's pensions.

Similarly his irony always treats foibles universally and cheerfully conceded: stupidity, credulity, extravagance, boastfulness, marital unhappiness, plain fraud. Seldom does Chaucer expose the subtler forms of pretence and self-deception, and he is never quite fearless in his irony. Is all this because he was primarily an artist, not a philosopher and moralist? Well, the artist who "rekkeþ not of what matere he take" thereby declares himself indifferent to fundamental values. Moreover for an artist who possessed insight and imagination such that he discerned the fatuity of "colors of rhetoryk" continually to invoke Greek divinities, to make unstinted use of apostrophe, to avail himself of countless traditional superlatives and absurd verbal inversions; in short to exercise so little discrimination in the employment of contemporary paraphernalia was for him to fail in boldness.

What indeed but essential cynicism, the supine refusal to be guided by courageous, honest thought, prevented Chaucer from beholding nature, since he professed to love it so, elsewhere than in gardens, and in forms other than flowers white and red and "foules" nearly always "smales"? He never deliberately violated anything less important than his own conscience.

To break through prized conventions, question traditions, and laugh at powerful fraud might not have been quite pleasant. And Chaucer was a cheerful cynic.

He is so plesant unto every man
(For craft is al, who-so that do it can)
That every wight is fayn to speke him good.

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REVIEWS

Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache von FRIEDRICH KLUGE. Neunte durchgesehene Auflage. Berlin und Leipzig 1921, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter & Co. xvi + 519 pp. Boards, M. 40.

Forty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition of this handbook, indispensable to those seeking a concise statement concerning the derivation and first appearance of a German word. The successive editions of the *Wörterbuch* are the milestones of German philology, the records of its progress during the preceding lustrum. On the whole, the contributions of the last few years have been neither numerous nor striking. Kluge's own *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* was discontinued in 1914, and no successor of this repository of lexicographic and linguistic research has as yet appeared. Much material has presumably remained unpublished, or else it has been deflected into local publications, difficult of access. And the restrictive effects of the war must not be left unmentioned, which even now make foreign periodicals practically inaccessible to the German scholar. It was to be expected, therefore, that the present edition would not be of much larger bulk than its immediate predecessor (1915). As a matter of fact, the paging of the two editions is identical in the first half of the book. Even here, however, revisions and additions have been made, space for new matter being gained by the excision of superfluous details in other articles.

The following corrections are based almost exclusively on unpublished or recently published studies. They are accordingly not meant to be a criticism of the present edition, but rather a contribution towards the succeeding one, which will doubtless be necessary within the next few years:¹

¹ The following abbreviations have been used:

Blankenb.: *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Bergische Städte II: Blankenberg, bearb. von E. Kaeber; Deutz, bearb. von B. Hirschfeld. Bonn, 1911.

Bunge: *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge, Reval, 1853 ff.

Cod. Lus.: *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris II*, enthaltend

Admiral "etwa . . . um 1550 . . . eingebürgert": a document dated 1427 refers to "sechs amrals adir houbtschiffe" (*Bunge*, VII, 435). The other use of the word, as a French military title, occurs still earlier: "der emeral von Franckenrich" (*Baseler Chron.* v, 128, written about 1403). Cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 264, where early instances of the spellings *amaral*, *amoral*, and *ammiral* are cited. The additional forms *amirald* and *amiraul* occur in documents of the year 1476 (*Ochsenbein*, pp. 367, 373).

Urkunden des Oberlausitzer Hussitenkrieges hrsg. von R. Jecht, 2 Bde., Görlitz, 1896-1904.

DWb.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* von J. Grimm und W. Grimm, Leipzig, 1854 ff.

Eidgen. Absch.: *Die eidgenössischen Abschiede aus dem Zeitraum von 1421 bis 1477*, hrsg. von A. Ph. v. Segesser, Lucern, 1863.

Fontes austr.: *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, II. Abt., Wien, 1855 ff.

Jahrb.: *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, Zürich, 1876 ff.

JEGP.: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1897 ff.

Klingenb.: *Klingenberger Chronik*, hrsg. von A. Henne, Gotha, 1861.

Monum.: *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*. Cracovie, 1874 ff.

Neuss: *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Kurkölnische Städte I: Neuss, bearb. von F. Lau, Bonn, 1911.

N. Laus. Mag.: *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, Görlitz.

Ochsenbein: *Die Urkunden der Belagerung u. Schlacht von Murten*, Freiburg, 1876.

PMLA.: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

Publ.: *Publikationen aus den K. preussischen Staatsarchiven*, Leipzig, 1878 ff.

Schilling: *Diebold Schilling's, des Lucerners, Schweizerchronik*, Lucern, 1862.

Schiner: *Korrespondenz u. Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner*, hrsg. von A. Büchi. 1. Bd., Basel, 1920 (Quellen z. schweiz. Gesch. N. F. III. Abt. Bd. 5.)

Script. Lus.: *Scriptores rerum lusaticarum*, N. F. Görlitz, 1839-1870.

Script. Pruss.: *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, Leipzig, 1861 ff.

Script. Siles.: *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum*, Breslau, 1835 ff.

Schw. Gesch.: *Der schweizerische Geschichtsforscher*, Bern, 1812 ff.

Segesser: *Die Beziehungen der Schweizer zu Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungern in den Jahren 1476-1490*, von A. Ph. v. Segesser, Lucern, 1860.

Trier: *Quellen zur Rechts- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte der rheinischen Städte*. Kurtrierische Städte I: Trier, hrsg. von F. Rudolphi. Bonn, 1915.

Unterfr.: *Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken u. Aschaffenburg*.

Zimm. Chron.: *Zimmerische Chronik*, hrsg. von K. A. Barak, 2. Aufl. Freiburg, 1881-82.

Advokat "Ende des 15. Jahrhs. bereits üblich": the word is in frequent use during the entire fifteenth century, and may even be cited from a letter dated 1392. Most of the earlier documents in question were written at Rome, and show, in addition to cases where the regular Latin inflection appears, the nom. sing. *advocate* and *advocates*:

Und der selbe advocate in des ordins sache gar getruwelich erbeitet (*Bunge*, III, 682: 1392). des ordens advocates ist dor bei gewest . . . Und der von Cur fragete dornoch den advocaten, als mir der advocates selber gesagt hat (v, 407: 1408). sante her zu unserm advocat einen boten . . . Unser advocat lies mich dies wissen (p. 664: 1420). nach rate unsers advocati (p. 665). unsirs ordens advocat sprach . . . unser advocatus und ich . . . Unser advocat sprach . . . Unser advocat verclarte . . . mit iren advocaten . . . mit unserm advocato . . . (pp. 737 ff.: 1421).

Alarm "Entlehnung geschah im 16. Jahr." Justinger's *Berner-Chronik*, written about 1420, in referring to an event of the year 1388, reads: do wurdent die frömden bogner der hut (= *Hinterhalt*) gewar und schruwen alarm: do kerten sich die soldner von bern umb. (ed. Studer, 1870, p. 175).

Arsenal "um 1550." In *MLN.* xxxiv, 265 may be found two instances, spelled *arszinal* and *arsinal*, from a letter of the year 1509.

Artillerie "durch das ganze 16. Jahr." In *MLN.* xxxiv, 416 are quoted instances dating as far back as 1475, in the spellings *artelrie*, *attelrie*, *artallary*, and *erkerei*.

Aschermittwoch "vereinzelte im 16. Jahr." In *JEGP.* xix, 510 f., I have shown that this form is the regular development from a plural *ascher*, instead of *aschen*. Instances of the compound *aschermittwoch* occur as early as 1469, and the gender is now masculine, now feminine. The spelling *eschmittwoch* (1475) is also found.

ausstaffieren "das einfache staffieren begegnet schon 1564." The following instances are considerably earlier: mit . . . handroren, stelenbogen woll staffiret (*Script. Pruss.* v, 475: 1516). mit gutten hauptstucken . . . gestaffiret (p. 532: 1520). einen wol staffirten fusknecht (*Script. Lus.* iv, 371: 1538). also staffirt (p. 373).

Barbier, Balbier, are respectively described as "erst frühnhd." and "im 16. Jahrh." The following earlier forms may be of interest: dem barbirer, *Cod. Lus.* II, 1, 386, lines 33, 37 (1427); Cuncze barbirer, II, 2, 316 (1432); Meister Cunrado barbirer, p. 397 (1432); balbirer, *Script. Siles.* VI, 12 (1421); den barbir, *Fontes austr.* XLII, 326 (1461); parbieren (d. pl.), *Segesser*, p. 104 (1493). Even the feminine form may be cited: Nickel scherer der barbirerynne manne *Cod. Lus.* II, 2, 69 (1429); scherer der barbirerynne man, p. 305 (1431).

Böhhnase 'Pfuscher': an additional synonym is *Ferkenstecher*, occurring as early as 1575 in the regulations of the Tailors' Guild at Neuss: Im fall aber so fremde schroder, die das amt nit, wie obgesetzt, gewonnen, in einem werk in der burger heuseren befunden wurden das verken zu stechen, *Neuss*, p. 253: soll jederm einen ferkenstecher unverweigerlich . . . anzusetzen frei stehen (p. 254). Similarly, in the regulations, dated 1731, of the Tailors' Guild at Deutz: Wan sonsten die Gesellen von den Meisternen abgehen und vor sich selbstn arbeithen würden, auch frembde also genante Ferckestecher und Bunhasen atrapirt werden, *Blankenb.* p. 245.

Degen²: Kluge's earliest instance is dated 1472. Instances dating as far back as 1400, and mostly from outlying eastern districts, may be found in *MLN.* xxxv, 408 f., where also the form *tatersche dangen* is recorded. Additional instances from western sections are: ein messer oder einen degen, *Trier*, p. 421 (1460); rök, swert, tegen, schilt vnd was dar zuo gehort, *Klingenb.* p. 247 (event of ca. 1437); ein welscher degen, *Ochsenbein*, p. 554 (1476); des hertzogen von Burgund tägen, *Schilling*, p. 78.

Dolch is cited from the year 1536. The following instance, dated 1509, is further of interest in that it points to the Dutch *dol*, *dolle* as its source: kocher, eunkfas, metzer, degen und dulle, *Neuss*, p. 185.

Felleisen: an unrecorded early variant (1473) is *fellus*: iglicher III pferd und sie alle ein fellus, *Publ.* LIX, 516.

Flotte "findet sich im Ndd. seit etwa 1400, im Hochd. seit Anfang des 17. Jahrh." *MLN.* xxxiv, 263 I have cited Low German instances dated 1368, and High German ones (*Flotta*) from the latter part of the sixteenth. These, as Kluge correctly points out, are due to the influence of the Italian (or, perhaps,

Spanish). Of even greater interest are the forms *Flut* (1507) and *Flosse* (1427, 1466), as showing the attempt of High or Middle German authors to adapt the word to their dialect. The native term, moreover, was not so much *Schiffszeug*, but *Schiffung*, abundantly instanced by both Lexer and Grimm.

Fundgrube: an instance antedating those cited by Kluge and Lexer is: und verleihen in auch die ersten fundgrub derselben ercz, *Font. austr.* II, 47 (1454).

Futteral: the Latin progenitor of this form may be cited from a document dated 1390: pro IIII futralibus supra balistas, *Monum.* xv, 47. The forms *futrum* (n. s.), *futra* (ac. pl.), *futrorum*, and *futris* occur on pp. 161-170.

Garnison occurs as early as 1481: cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 257.

General: for early instances, cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 258. To these may be added: das der landtvogt von Dijon mit einem General hie ligt, *Jahrb.* xxxix, 191* (1498).

Geschwader: an instance antedating those of Kluge is given *MLN.* xxxiv, 417. Another early one is from the Peasants' War: etliche geschwader reuter, *Unterfr.* II, 145 (1525).

Grippe: cf. *JEGP.* xix, 513.

Halunke: cf. *MLN.* xxxv, 405.

Horde¹: an instance a century older than Kluge's is given *MLN.* xxxv, 408.

Jacht: "zuerst nld. bei Kilian 1599 *jaghte* 'kleines, schnelles Schiff'; als hd, zuerst 1668." The word may be cited, however, from a contemporary account of an event of 1523: x schöne schiffe und eine jacht, und das ameralesboth, *Script. Pruss.* v, 534.

Jacke: cf. *MLN.* xxxv, 411.

Kamerad: Instead of 1638, this word may be cited from a *Zeitung* of the year 1564: Ausz Wien einem Kamerath inn Speir warhafftig zugeschrieben; cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 261.

katzbalgen: Kluge quotes the expression *im Katzbalg liegen* from the year 1524, and the *DWb.* has a number of other instances from the sixteenth century. In a slightly different locution of the fifteenth century, *Katzbalg* seems to refer to some part of the soldiers' equipment (*pocket, sheath, scabbard?*): das verkomen wurde die vppigen kleider, deszglichen die tägen, so die xellen (*Gessellen*) im katzbalg tragen, vnd die Swert mit den halbscheiden, *Eidgen. Absch.* III, 1, 411 (1492). *Tägen*, at this period,

does not mean 'sword,' but 'dagger.' Just how *Katzbalg* passed over into the figurative use (*im Katzbalg liegen*) I am unable to trace: I can, however, point out an exactly similar transfer in the case of *Armbrust*, 'crossbow': das wir nit yemerdar mit yederman im Armbrost lägen (i. e., *mit ihm gespannt sein*), *Schw. Gesch.*, III, 261 (1514). solt man weiter wie biszher beschehen, im armbrost liegen, den feind nit hindersich dringen, *PMLA.* xxxiv, 156 (1551). lag nit lang im armbrost, *Zimm. Chron.* II, 534. In these latter instances the meaning is 'to hesitate.' The *DWb.* cites a similar instance from Lehmann (1640), without defining the phrase.

Kellner: in their comment on the secondary form *Keller*, lexicographers fail to note that this was the form used by Goethe—the *DWb.* even states: "die form gilt nämlich noch am Rhein, in Frankfurt," without mentioning Frankfurt's most illustrious son. *Keller*, for example, occurs repeatedly in *Die Mitschuldigen*, in all the genuine editions down to 1806 incl., and was only replaced by *Kellner* in the publisher's reprint of that year, whence it passed into the later editions (cf. *MLN.* xxvi, 133 ff.). As the dictionaries quote only the later editions, all trace of the earlier genuine form has been obliterated.

Kürass: an early variant, not noted by lexicographers, is *kor-bisser*: worn vil mit korbisser gar wol gerüstet, *Font. austr.* XLII, 304 (1460). The word was, of course, confused with *Kürbis*, 'pumpkin.'

Lakai: for a discussion of this word, with early instances, cf. *MLN.* xxxiv, 411. A variant form *luckey* occurs three times in *N. Laus. Mag.* LXXVIII, 157 (1594).

Leutnant: "im Anfang des 16. Jahrhs. auftretend." A variant form *Lüttiner*, occurring as early as 1481, is discussed *MLN.* xxxiv, 261. Other early instances of this form may be found in *Schilling*, p. 224; *Jahrb.* xxi, 186; xxxix, 231; *Schw. Gesch.* I, 244.

Lunte: an unrecorded variant is *lombte*: mit musketen, . . . krauth, loth, zindstricken, lombten und dergl. *Trier*, p. 139 (1593).

Mappe, 'Landkarte,' is to be derived from the Latin *mappa mundi* rather than from the French *mappemonde*. The Latin

word occurs in a German letter from Rome, dated 1421: uns . . . weisete ein gemolit tuch inr gleichnisse einer mappe mundi, *Monum.* XII, 119.

Matrose is first cited from the year 1616. An unrecorded earlier form is *Martolose*, which is closer to the French *matelots* than the modern German word: 200 knecht . . . 1000 martolosenn, seint auch zu fuesz, *Script. Lusat.* IV, 389 (1541).

Nift: m. 'Enkel': under *Nichte*, Kluge discusses OHG. *nift*, MHG. *niftel*, fem., but neither he nor any other lexicographer seems to know a masculine form *nift*, 'Enkel.' This occurs in a letter from Witold of Lithuania to the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, under date of 1429: als des herrn grossfurste von Moskaw, unsers niftes, und ander grossen herczogen, *Monum.* VI, 820. The meaning 'grandson' is assured by another reference (p. 774) to the same individual as the son of Witold's daughter.

parieren², 'parry,' is cited as of the year 1642. And yet the expression occurs in a ms. of the year 1443, namely, Hans Talhoffer's compilation of Lichtenauer's *Fechtbuch*: cf. Hergsell, *Die Fechtkunst im XV. u. XVI. Jh.*, Prag, 1896, p. 428.

Pistole: Kluge still adheres to the view that this word is derived from the name of the Italian city of Pistoja, whereas Meyer-Lübke, in his *Roman. Etymol. Wbch.*, definitely derives the Romance words for 'pistol' from the German, the ultimate source being Czechish *pist'al*, "doch fehlt die historische Begründung dieser Auffassung." The etymology adopted by Meyer-Lübke goes back to K. Strekelj (1894), who, in turn, alludes to it as *die alte Ansicht*. In the *JHU. Circular*, 1920, pp. 674-676, I arrived at this etymology quite independently of Strekelj, and also furnished the *historische Begründung*, based on Silesian historical documents of the years 1421-1429, connected with the Hussite Wars. Here the word *pisschulle*, *pischol*, *piszczal* occurs as the name of a fire-arm, presumably a *Handbüchse*: Summa summarum der bochsen, 20 grosse bochsen, domete man mawren fellen mag, 300 tarrasssteinbüchsen, 2000 pisschullen. eyn wenig pulffer und vier pischezaln. rechte sere schoss mit büchsen, pischoln, etc. The clue to the etymology is found in still another passage: czwu adir dry steynbuchsen vnd pulver vnd steyne, dorezu eyne notdorfft, vnd ouch pfeiffen vnd hawfenicz. These *pfeiffen* were evidently a sort of fire-arm,

for *hawfenicz* is the modern *Haubitze*. Now the Bohemian equivalent of 'Pfeife' is *pistal*, which appears in Polish as *piszczalka*, approximating one of the spellings found above. It is evident that some German writers took over the Bohemian term bodily, while others, knowing its fundamental meaning, translated it by *Pfeife*, just as *Rohr*, *Handrohr* was used to designate a gun. Two additional instances may be quoted here: *bochssin zu gyssen, psycheln und tarraschbochsin*, *Cod. Lus.* II, 1, 491 (Görlitz, 1428); *vier pischalen*, *Publ.* XVI, 280 (Breslau, 1469).

Profoss, cited from the year 1561, occurs as early as the Peasants' War (1525): *nemlich der profoss, zentbutel und ein metzler*, *Unterfr.* XXXVI, 83. *hauptleut, profossen, keller und dergl. gewalthabere*, *Unterfr.* II, 157.

Römer, 'Weinglas,' "im 16. Jahrh." The following instance antedates those in the dictionaries: *etlige roemer, de do zobrochen worden*, *Neuss*, p. 393 (1501).

Säbel: for early instances, including the form *schebel*, cf. *MLN.* XXXV, 409.

Schlappe²: the earliest instance in the military sense is probably the following: *hat Keis. Majt . . . den Franzosen ein grossen schlappen geben, da gefangen oder umbkomen sind . . .* *Schiner*, p. 257 (1513).

strangulieren: "zuerst . . . 1566 belegt und nach Frisch 1741 eigtl. nur vom Erdrosseln der Türken gebraucht." The latter statement is controverted by the following early instances, taken from Creutznacher's Diary of the Diet of Augsburg, 1547: *Donnerstags 24. Novembris . . . wardt ein Italianer strangulirt vnd gefirtheillt vmb das er mit furiren falszheit getrieben . . . Am 21. Decembris ist ain Neapolitaner strangulirt vnd gefirtheillt wordenn, umb das er ain Niderlendischen Balbirer helffen ermorden*, *Unterfr.* XLVII, 313, 315.

Taffet, "Lehnwort des 16. Jahrs." See *MLN.* XXXV, 412 for earlier instances.

Trabant: in the sense of 'foot-soldier' the word occurs frequently in Lusatian documents concerning the Hussite Wars, the date of the earliest one being 1431. Cf. *Cod. Lus.* II, Vol. 2, pp. 216, 269, 276, 346, 537, 558, 579, 582, 601.

tribulieren: "seit 1520 . . . belegt." *der bischof von Com-myn tribulieret die unsern gar vast*, *Publ.* LXVII, 245 (1476).

Truppen: instead of making its first appearance in 1617, this word occurs as early as 1474, during the siege of Neuss: cf. *MLN.* XXXIV, 258.

Tüttel "erst nhd." The following is from a letter of Elector Albrecht Achilles, dated 3. Jan. 1474: So geen wir auch eins tutels nicht weyter, dann wie die schrift innen wird halten, *Font. austr.* XLVI, 252.

Uriasbrief: the following is a century earlier than the examples cited by Kluge: also das er nit Orias brief gefurt hat, *Publ.* LXVII, 206 (1476).

verplempern: as compounds of this stem are cited only for NHG., the following instance, dated 1430, may be of interest: durch mancher mengunge vnd plemperey wille, dy durch weybir vnd logenhaftige speyer pflegit czu geschen, *Monum.* VII, 415.

vexieren: Kluge cites an instance of the year 1553. Cf.: der Jersik ist widergekorth keyn Prage vnd wil vns mühen vnd vexiren, *Font. austr.* XX, 530 (1468). das nieman den andern bedorfft fragen oder fexieren, ob er Frantzosisch oder Römsch küngisch wäre, *Schilling*, p. 183 (15th cent.).

Vice- "im 16. Jahrh." An additional compound, and antedating those cited, is that with *Kanzler*: der vitzcancle von Osterreich, *Font. austr.* XLII, 175 (1455).

Wallach "um 1550 im Nhd. auftretend." Cf.: do dem pfarrer das pferdt eyñ walach gestoleñ wardt, *Script. Pruss.* V, 295 (ca. 1497).

W. KURRELMEYER.

Poetic Origins and the Ballad. By LOUISE POUND. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921.

The late Professor F. B. Gummere, "wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower," expounded with great charm and persuasiveness an elaborate theory concerning the origin and nature of primitive poetry. The nearest representative of primitive poetry in English is found in the older folk-songs, the popular ballads, traditional story-songs of unknown authorship. Gummere first set forth his views concerning the ballad in the Introduction to his *Old English Ballads* (Ginn, 1894). In *The Beginnings of Poetry*

(Macmillan, 1901), he treated "the rise of poetry as a social institution." He found the source of primitive poetry in the communal dance. He even believed in actual communal authorship, a hard saying. "The ballad is a song made in the dance, and so by the dance...the communal dance...is the real source of the song" (p. 321). This, of course, cannot mean an actual thinking in concert by a throng, but a process of improvisation in which many take part on some theme of immediate interest. Professor G. L. Kittredge visualizes the process thus: "Different members of the throng, one after another, may chant each his verse, composed on the spur of the moment, and the sum of these various contributions makes a song. This is communal composition, though each verse, taken by itself, is the work of an individual."¹

In *The Popular Ballad* (Houghton, 1907), not to mention some separate articles, Gummere restated his general position, and classified and discussed most helpfully the body of English ballad-poetry in Child's great collection.

Professor Louise Pound² opposes squarely the views of Gummere and his followers. Miss Pound holds that among the most primitive peoples we find individual authorship of songs. She cites in proof of her position clear-cut evidence concerning certain tribes of North American Indians, also the case of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, called in Lippincott's *Gazetteer* "as degraded savages as any in the world." These cases are a very cogent appeal to a contemporaneous antiquity for evidence upon this disputed

¹ Introduction to the one-vol. edition of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Houghton, 1904, p. xix.

² I note here a few corrections. Professor Beers and Mr. Sharp sometimes lose a middle initial, and Professor Gummere gets a wrong one. Mr. Newell's statement about *Barbara Allen* (p. 53) concerned *New England*. See his *Games and Songs of American Children*, Harper, 2d ed., 1903, p. 78. The title of Lady Gomme's collection is *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (p. 58). What is the *Pepys Manuscript* (89)? *The Bitter Withy* and *The Holy Well* (172) are not in the Child collection. *The Wreck of the Lady Elgin* (*Lost on the Lady Elgin*) was written by Henry C. Work (212). *Silver Jack* (229) was printed by Lomax, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVIII, 9-10. The tramp song (230) is in the same article, p. 4. The passage from Andrew Lang (235) is taken, with minor inaccuracies, from his article on "Ballads" in the ninth ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Compare the phrase quoted on p. 107. "Refrains" in the index should have many more references.

point. Mr. John Robert Moore has called attention to similar evidence about the Melanesians; he cites also the Fijians, "scarce fifty years out of cannibalism."³ Gummere, on the contrary, makes much of the Botocudos of South America, of whom a Dr. Ehrenreich tells us that they make, while dancing, "short improvised songs. . . . They never sing without dancing, never dance without singing, and have but one word to express both song and dance."⁴

Miss Pound also calls attention to the fact that the songs which we now find associated with the dance are of an entirely different type from the ballads.

Gummere recognizes fully that his theory cannot be established in a direct, positive way. He thinks that we can trace a "curve of evolution" that points back to communal conditions for primitive poetry, and even to communal authorship. That definite proof of this theory is impossible he suggests by prefixing to *The Beginnings of Poetry* two lines from Chaucer:

I ne have no text of it, as I suppose,
But I shal fynde it in a maner glose.

The student who has followed carefully Gummere's many engaging expositions of his theory will wish to add one more line from Chaucer:

Glosinge is a ful glorious thing, certeyn.

Gummere looks upon the frequent presence of a refrain in ballads and that peculiarity of style which he calls incremental repetition as pointing back directly to communal conditions, to the singing, dancing throng of primitive society. "The refrain is an organic part of the ballad . . . It establishes beyond all doubt the lyric and choral origins."⁵ "The refrain is not a development but a survival."⁶ Miss Pound opposes these positions. She notes that "refrains appear very abundantly in the later pieces and in broadsides" (77). For example, I have observed that three-fourths of the published texts of the American ballad "*Springfield Mountain*" have a refrain, usually a meaningless jingle of musical syllables. Also, modern ballads frequently offer marked examples of

³ *The Modern Language Review*, Oct., 1916, p. 391.

⁴ *The Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 95-96.

⁵ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 73.

⁶ *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 257.

incremental repetition (122-123). *Progressive repetition* seems to me a better term for this feature.

Miss Pound insists, against Gummere and others, that ballad-making is not "a closed account," except for those who arbitrarily close the account by ignoring ballads of more recent origin.

Much was made by Gummere of the choral singing and dancing of ballads by the Faroe islanders. He thought this "combination of dance and song" to be "of a far more primitive type than sundry laborious dances of savage tribes who are assumed to be quite primitive in their culture."⁷ In 1906 Mr. Hjalmar Thuren published a careful study of the ballads of the Faroe Islands, which I know only in the summary of Professor Arthur Beatty. According to Beatty's report of Thuren's conclusions, "the *tunes* are derived from the Protestant hymn books," the dances were an importation from France. "The dance and lyric refrains developed in France, . . . were carried to the Scandinavian countries and there developed the ballad . . . In the Scandinavian countries this took place about 1100, very soon after that in England, in Germany about 1200, in Spain about 1400, in Italy about the same date, while France had to wait until the latter half of the fifteenth century for anything which can be called a ballad."⁸ In 1907 Gummere thought that "the ballad genesis," as he understood this genesis, "is more plainly proved for the Faroes than for any other modern people."⁹

If improvisation is natural to primitive peoples, and if tradition sometimes improves what is entrusted to it, then our older ballads, or some of them, may well have developed from simpler forms that preceded them, although it may be impossible to prove this.

We have already spoken of improvisation among the primitive Botocudos. "The persistence of the habit [of improvisation by groups] among civilized peoples in modern times," says Professor Kittredge, "is a matter of common knowledge. In the Faroe Islands, a few generations ago, it was common for a group to surround some fisherman who had been unlucky, or had otherwise laid himself open to ridicule, and to improvise a song about him, each contributing his verse or stanza. In the Russian cigarette factories, the girls who roll the cigarettes amuse themselves, while at work,

⁷ *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 19.

⁸ *PMLA*. xxix (1914), pp. 491-93.

⁹ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 69 n.

by composing songs about each other in a similar way. . . . Everybody has heard children engaged in the communal composition of satirical rhymes."¹⁰

It is an interesting fact that Mrs. Mary Root Kern, more than twenty years ago, guided different groups of children, from six to twelve years of age, in the University of Chicago Elementary School, in the oral group-composition of songs, both the words and the accompanying melodies. The little ones dearly loved these songs of their own making. Mrs. Kern tells me that the evident fitness of the children for such work together suggested the experiment to her. The words and music of a number of the songs and an account of the experiment appeared in *The Elementary School Record*, Chicago, 1900 (now out of print).

Can a story-song improve in the course of oral tradition? Miss Pound looks upon this as highly improbable. A ballad is for her, practically, a poem by an individual author which has experienced more or less corruption in the course of transmission. Now, whether it begin with communal or individual creation, communal re-creation is an essential element in the life of a ballad. Gummere speaks of "the refining and ennobling process of tradition" as a possibility.¹¹ For Miss Pound, "The crudity and the unliterary quality increase with the lapse of time, and by popular preservation" (116). In general she recognizes only "the degenerative effects of oral preservation" (198). But is there any explanation of the high quality of the older English ballads, especially those embodying popular superstitions, except that tradition has exerted upon them a helpful influence? If tradition is only a corrupting agency, why are those ballads the best that have been the longest subjected to it? A writer in the *Weekly Springfield Republican* for Oct. 8, 1908, says: "There can be no doubt that the first men who attempted to work into rhyme the local events of their countryside in either Scotland or England were crude yokels, and it was not until their verses had been repeated from sire to son down several centuries, until they had been filtered, as it were, through many better minds than those of the authors, that the flaws were eliminated and the folk songs as we know them now had emerged." A few of these expressions may be questioned, but there is some truth here.

¹⁰ Introduction to one-vol. ed. of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, pp. xix-xx.

¹¹ *The Popular Ballad*, p. 76.

In Mr. Cecil J. Sharp's remarkable book, *English Folk-Song, Some Conclusions*, London, Novello, 1907, the chapter on "Evolution" tells us that "the conception of evolution involves the three principles of *continuity*, *variation*, and *selection*" (p. 16). He is thinking primarily of the melodies, but believes that the words and the air develop in much the same way. "The second principle, *Variation*, creates the material which renders development possible. . . . Change may produce growth, or it may be sterile; or, again, it may lead to corruption" (29). Mr. Sharp found two gifted folk-singers who introduced into their melodies half-unconscious variations, "many of them of great beauty" (23). Singers with poetical gifts would naturally vary the language, whether consciously or not, and some of these changes might persist. Changes are inevitable in songs preserved by memory.

"The function of the third principle, *Selection*," says Mr. Sharp, "is to ensure that variation shall, in certain cases, result in organic growth and development" (29). The part of the community is "to weigh, sift, and select from the mass of individual suggestions those which most accurately express the popular taste and the popular ideal; to reject the rest; and then, when more variations are produced, to repeat the process once more, and again once more. The process goes on unceasingly while the ballad lives" (31).

Is tradition, even at the present day, always an unfavorable influence? Near the close of 1814, Charles Miner, of Wilkesbarre, Penn., published an original ballad of twenty-two stanzas concerning the recent execution of James Bird, who was charged with desertion.¹² The poem passed into tradition. It was a favorite song in the neighborhood of Lake Erie, and was cherished as a vivid bit of local history. I hope to print soon in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* a traditional version recently obtained. It reproduces Mr. Miner's poem, stanza for stanza, with remarkable accuracy. The line of the original "Here will Bird his cutlass ply" has been replaced by the less appropriate words "Ne'er will Bird his colors fly." The other changes in the phrasing are slight; they seem to me on the whole to be improvements on the author's text.

¹² The original text of *James Bird* is reprinted in *Charles Miner*, 1780-1865, by Charles F. and Elizabeth Miner Richardson, Wilkes-Barre, Penn., 1916, pp. 68-71. A copy is in The Newberry Library, Chicago.

Miss Pound offers an affirmative theory of her own as to the origin of our English ballads. She points out that a number of our earliest ballad texts are on religious subjects, the oldest of all being *Judas* (No. 23 in Child) from a manuscript of the thirteenth century. Accordingly she makes the following interesting suggestion: "The ballad, like the religious carols and the miracle plays and a great mass of ecclesiastical lyrics and narrative poetry, might be a part of that great mediæval movement to popularize for edifying reasons biblical characters and tales, a movement having its first impulse in the festival occasions of the church. Then, again like the drama, it passes from ecclesiastical hands, with edification the purpose, into secular hands, with the underlying purpose of entertainment." Later, "the religious material, having historically initial place, became submerged and ultimately well-nigh lost to view" (166-167).

In reviewing Gummere's book *The Popular Ballad*,¹³ Professor H. M. Belden pointed out that the views there set forth would make it hard to explain the origin of the excellent ballad *Mary Hamilton* (No. 173 in Child), which must have been composed after 1563. His objections would not hold against the more guarded statement of Professor Kittredge: "We have described the characteristic method of ballad authorship as improvisation in the presence of a sympathetic company which may even, at times, participate in the process. Such a description is in general warranted by the evidence; and though it cannot be proved for any of the English and Scottish ballads, is not improbable for some of them. . . . Even if none of our ballads were composed in this way, still many of them conform to a type which was established under the conditions of authorship referred to."¹⁴

All the king's horses and all the king's men cannot put the question of ballad-origins back where it was before the appearance of Miss Pound's book. Her sharp challenge of widely accepted views is supported by a wealth of definite evidence and able reasoning that cannot be ignored. She is to be warmly congratulated.

Because we feel the force of Miss Pound's book, must we reject entirely the opposing views? Like Gummere, Miss Pound seems

¹³ *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 114-27.

¹⁴ Introduction to one-vol. ed. of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. xxvii.

to be trying to establish universal propositions. Universal propositions are dangerous. Perhaps Kipling had this very controversy about ballad-origins partly in mind when he said with extreme catholicity:

There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays,
And—every—single—one—of—them—is—right.

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Aucassin und Nicolette. Kritischer Text mit Paradigmen und Glossar, von HERMANN SUCHIER. Neunte Auflage, bearbeitet von Walther Suchier. Paderborn, 1921.

The ninth edition of Hermann Suchier's *Aucassin und Nicolette*, from the hand of Walther Suchier, is far less prepossessing in appearance than the eighth edition, the last published by the original editor before his death. The printing is not bad,¹ but the paper is lamentably unworthy, and the necessity of economising space even on this "field-grey" product makes the text look far less attractive than in the 1913 volume. But the importance of the additional material and the changes made fully justify the new editor's publication, despite the result of post-war conditions upon its material aspect.

In the text itself we note—and welcome—a return to the MS. reading² in many cases where the eighth edition, in spite of protests made by earlier critics, still showed many unnecessary "emendations." All Hermann Suchier's worst alterations have been done away with,³ but there are still a few minor instances in which the

¹ Only two misprints are apparent, both in the text: "al apar" (20, 5) should read "ala par," and "ent" (28, 7) should read "en."

² The original MS. being, of course, unavailable to the present reviewer, he has used for purposes of comparison throughout Bourdillon's facsimile (Oxford, 1896).

³ In making these changes the editor was apparently influenced by the suggestions (offered, it must be noted, with some unnecessary sarcasm) of F. W. Bourdillon's recent edition *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Manchester, 1919; but he makes no mention of having seen or heard of it.

MS. itself is quite as intelligible as the commentator, and is therefore infinitely more desirable. In spite of his extended discussion the editor has by no means fully justified the alterations of the last words in the verse passages 1, 3, 5, 9, 15, and 27. The changes are plausible, but quite unnecessary; they should at least be relegated to footnotes. We may cite further: (a) "bones" (2, 15) where the MS. "bone," fem. sing., is preferable; (b) "... ou trois, et que je l'aroie une fois baisie? Ce m'eustes vos en covent" (10, 51 ff.), where "ou trois? Et que je l'aroie une fois baisie m'eustes vos en covent" is equally intelligible and leaves the MS. reading intact; (c) the addition of "sous" after "vint" (24, 65), where the sense, from the preceding speech, is clear without it; (d) the change of "vint" (24, 86), which hardly seems an improvement; and so on. We note also that the emendation "Or" for "Ce" (4, 17) is still retained, doubtless on the basis of Rudolf Dockhorn's analysis (*Zur Textkritik von Aucassin und Nicolette*, Halle, 1913; pp. 64 ff.). "Or gardez vous," it is true, allows one to regard "vous" as reflexive object of the imperative, the common construction, while "Ce gardez vous" would make it the subject, or else indicate an indicative used as imperative. Yet even if Dockhorn be right, and the seemingly parallel "Or ne quidez vous" have not imperative but interrogative force, awkward and unnatural as it is if taken so, we still cannot prove the expression of the subject with the imperative to be impossible for the twelfth or the thirteenth century. "Be careful!" is the correct English imperative to-day, and probably the only form to be found in good literary use. But the thirtieth century critic will be in error if, finding an odd instance of "You be careful!" in an early twentieth century work, he emends it to "Be careful!" because "the subject pronoun was not in use with the imperative" in English!

Furthermore, a return to the spellings of the MS. is also in several cases desirable. The printing of "plourers" (13, 9), "doublier" (9, 7), "coururent" (34, 11), etc. for the MS. "plurers," "dublier," "cururent," seems unnecessary. It does not even lead to uniformity, for the editor preserves elsewhere the readings with "o" (e. g. "plorer" 7, 9; 13, 21; "ploroit" 40, 39; etc.). The MS. shows the sound \bar{u} represented in all of the three ways common in Old French: u, o, and ou; and there seems to be no good reason against letting them stand. Similarly the MS.

"ml't" (4, 20 and *passim*) were surely better printed "molt" than "mout"; and "9", the abbreviation for "con," when followed by "m" or "n" should be "conm," "conn" not "com," "con," especially as "conmenca" (24, 88), "conmanda" (28, 15), etc. occur spelled thus in full, though the full spelling with one nasal is more common. Again, we see no valid reason for a departure from the usual custom of leaving intact a MS. confusion between "an" and "en." So "center" (12, 6), "santi" (16, 21), "enfent" (28, 18), etc. need never have been changed. But these and one or two other such points are after all of small importance. The text in general is a decided improvement on that of the eighth edition.

The linguistic appendix is practically unchanged, as also the paradigms; though the latter show one addition, the adjectival declensions having previously been omitted, and some minor alterations in the verb scheme. The inclusion of these tables, all easily accessible in any Old French Grammar, seems something of an impertinence, and we could wish that the necessary economy of space had been effected by omitting these nineteen paradigm pages rather than by crowding up the text. There have been several additions made to the Notes, and one most regrettable omission: the note on 1, 2, which contained a discussion of the MS. reading "viel antif," emended by Hermann Suchier to "duel caitif." This gives an easy reading, but not that of the MS. The omission of any reference to Alfred Schulze's significant observations on this point (*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, CII, 224) or to the brief but enlightening discussion in the note of the previous edition is a serious mistake. Mention may also be made here of the fact that the editor purposely gives no bibliography; this is the more regrettable as the multiplication of footnote references and citations ultimately grows confusing.

The most noteworthy feature of the present edition is the long introductory section devoted to the sources of the story. Of especial interest is the classification of apparent Arabic features, superficially most imposing, but on analysis reducible to the barest possibilities. Of all the characteristics said to point to Arabic tradition, there is scarce one that cannot equally well be drawn from contemporary Old French literature. Taking severally all the points tabulated, we have:—(a) Love-sickness. This is, however,

common in all literature, and its presence in Aucassin and Nicolette is hardly an Arabic trait. Mediæval parallels are numerous; the first that comes to our mind is that of Archistrates' daughter in the various versions of the Apollonius of Tyre story. Love melancholy (c), and the thought of dying for love (g) are also hardly to be regarded as Arabic monopolies. (b) Aucassin declares hell would be preferable to heaven if his lady were there. This is certainly not a very Christian trait; but the idea is found in Old French and other European literatures as well as in the Arabic. (See Wilhelm Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Zweite Auflage, Stuttgart, 1900, pp. 438-9. Suchier quotes the Fourth edition, pp. 437-8.) And (d) Aucassin's joy at the anticipation of a kiss is hardly to be taken as serious evidence of Arabic influence. Again (e) Aucassin's absorption in his passion led to absent-mindedness on the battle-field that was almost fatal. But the Arabs assuredly were not the only absent-minded lovers of the middle ages. The author of the story might just as well have had in mind the distraction and consequent danger of Chrétien de Troyes' Lancelot (*Chevalier de la Charette* 3685-3705, cited in another connection by Suchier himself), as that of some indefinite Arab. (f) A glimpse of Nicolette's leg cured the epileptic pilgrim. For this Suchier admits he can adduce no close Arabic parallel, though he thinks, as some other critics have thought, that it sounds like an Arabic—or at least a heathen—idea. The healing qualities of a beautiful lady's presence, however, were hardly unknown to France. Over a century before, Guilhem IX had written "Per son joy pot malautz sanar"⁴—but the concept was a commonplace. The special details of the incident in Nicolette's case almost seem to suggest an actual occurrence; and it may be that on some occasion when the poet had a slight sickness a similar vision so excited him that his pain was forgotten. The incident superficially seems fantastic, but there is nothing psychologically impossible, or even improbable, about it. (h) The Watchman's song of warning to the lovers. This is found, it is true, as an Arabic lyric motif; but the familiar "Alba" or "Aube"

⁴ *Les chansons de Guillaume IX*. A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1913, p. 23. Though the Troubadours were, as Suchier points out, of a very different social standing from the *jongleur* who is likely to have written our poem, the *jongleurs* must surely have been acquainted with some at least of the features of the courtly lyric.

of the occident is very nearly as suggestive of the situation and is far more obvious as an influence. (i) The light shed by the face of Nicolette. This is said to be similar to descriptions found in Arabic poetry, and it is the one feature cited that we cannot immediately parallel in earlier Romance literature, familiar as the idea sounds. It suggests, of course, a common expression of the Church, and might well be taken over from some phase of the mediæval concept of the Blessed Virgin; the emanation of light from saintly figures is frequently mentioned by the early mystics; and a similar phenomenon is not unknown in Celtic literature.

These are all the points tabulated, suggested to the editor by S. Singer's *Arabische und europäische Poesie im Mittelalter* (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1918, Philos.-hist. Kl., Nr. 13). Elsewhere he mentions the non-Christian conduct of the unwedded lovers in living together three years in Torelore. But I doubt if this is an act any more Arabic than Mediæval French; they seem at least to have been betrothed, and it might well have been regarded as a "Sponsalia de futuro," which in the middle ages was often held valid as a marriage, the actual wedding ceremony being indefinitely postponed. The use of the terms "fille au roi de Carthage" and "Amuaffle" does not argue for the Arabic theory; since these, the only terms in the work of obviously Arabic suggestion, are both, as Suchier admits, commonplaces of Old French literature. The metrical argument on pages xxvii and xxviii, according to which the seven-syllable verse results from the halving of a fourteen-syllable *basit* line, is undeserving of the space accorded it, for it is admitted that the movement of the Aucassin verse is utterly different from that of the Arabic. Finally, the identification of the name Aucassin with Al Kâsim hardly constitutes a proof. Even if this is the true etymon, names in the middle ages were so freely and so strangely used and abused that they are practically valueless as evidence.

Despite Walther Suchier's assumption of proof, then, the whole question of Arabic influence on the story of Aucassin and Nicolette is still entirely open. The value of the present edition lies (apart from the improvement in its text) in its full presentation of all the source material so far available, including the "Arabic." As yet, however, nothing but possibility is proved. There *may* have been

an Arabic influence on the hypothetical Byzantine romance commonly regarded as the story's source; but this influence is still no more than a surmise.

One other possibility remains, which the scholarly passion for source identification is extremely reluctant to consider. Might not the first version of the story, antedating by some decades the sole manuscript we possess, have been an original composition? Episodes and features of *Floire et Blancheflor*, a point or two from the *Jourdain de Blaivies* story, certain incidents from the *Apollonius* romance, perhaps a suggestion from the earliest *Bueve de Haumtone* and a reminiscence of one or other of the Chrétien stories,—these with who knows what besides from other essential items in the jongleur's répertoire, adding something from such popular tales as were known to him, would be amply sufficient to build up the whole story, even without the use of the wonderfully vivid imagination the author evidently possessed. Such a theory is certainly as plausible as the Arabic idea; the lack of the usual reference to an earlier author strengthens it; and until some definite work comes to light more obviously connected with the story than anything that has as yet been brought forward, it seems to provide at least a satisfactory—and attractive—working hypothesis.

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Les Femmes Savantes, by Molière, edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. C. Wright, Professor of the French Language and Literature at Harvard University. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920. xiii + 144 pp.

In this new edition of *Les Femmes savantes*, we find an excellent presentation of the text of the play, together with a brief introduction and notes. The text followed is the standard one of the *Grands Ecrivains français*, edited by Despois and Mesnard. To the text have been added the directions for the production of the play followed by the *Comédie française*. These directions are taken from the *Edition de la Comédie française* by Georges Baillet, who played the rôle of Clitandre for some thirty odd years. It is the presentation of these directions to the American student which constitutes the sole novelty of Professor Wright's edition.

The introduction is well written and pleasant to read, but far too short to give more than a passing glimpse of the comedy's value as a literary production or of its place in Molière's work. The notes are adequate in so far as they elucidate linguistic obscurities and their explanations of literary references are correct; it could hardly be otherwise in the case of a text subjected to so much previous commentation. We might wish a somewhat fuller citation of parallel and explanatory passages from other writers in an edition which must often be used by students not in reach of a library of French literature. There is no vocabulary.

Taken altogether, Professor Wright's edition of the *Femmes savantes* is carefully prepared and offers sufficient material for a clear understanding of the play by a student whose work on Molière is supplemented by abundant outside reading or by a good course of lectures by a competent teacher. To the writer, however, it seems unfortunate that a new edition of Molière's greatest comedy of manners, and especially one by so competent an authority as Professor Wright, should not have an exhaustive introduction which would interpret to the student in the twentieth century the interesting life of the French salon in the seventeenth. I am aware, from personal experience, that the American publisher bitterly begrudges the space so required, yet if this new edition is to do more than fill the gap in the Oxford Series of French texts, only such an introduction would justify its publication.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE DISJUNCTIVE POSSESSIVE

The logical possessive of the personal pronoun which, postponed to a place of emphasis, becomes a sort of disjunctive possessive, or emphatic material genitive, has since Jack London's book, *White Fang*, been made a literary fad by his multitudinous imitators. This "the-clay-of-him" genitive¹ is differentiated from the ordinary

¹ *White Fang* contains some twenty examples of this construction, three of which are as follows: "The clay of him was so moulded." "The clay of him had been so moulded in the making." "They were his environment, these men, and they were moulding the clay of him into a more ferocious thing than had been intended by nature." Cf. the normal possessive variant: "It was another evidence of the plasticity of his clay."

possessive in that it denotes corporeal or soul essence. The modern novelist in his effort to describe the most inherent quality is practically sure to use it. This idiom is, however, archaic and poetic; and in its earlier manifestations quite respectable.

"All men may see the skull of him."—Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, XXI, 2. "Fetch thou the corpse of her, and bury her by her husband the noble king Arthur."—*Ibid.*, XXI, 10. "He will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them."—*Isa.*, 31, 4. "The chief quality of Burns is the sincerity of him."—Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship*. "The primrose is forever nothing else than itself—a little flower, apprehended in the very plain and leafy fact of it."—Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, III, 12. "He is tender to impression at the surface, but there is too much mass of him to be moved."—*Ibid.*

For they do, all, dear women young and old,
Upon the heads of them bear notably
This badge of soul and body in repose.

Browning, *Turf and Towers*.

He revived all usages thoroughly worn-out,
The souls of them fumed-forth, the hearts of them torn-out.

Browning, *Flight of the Duchess*.

The Man had something in the look of him.

Browning, *An Epistle*.

This construction is conversational also: "Oh! King of Glory!" says I, "hear the pride and ungratitude of her!"—Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*. "Ah! blessings on the old red cloak of him."—Scott, *St. Ronan's Well*.

It is different from the demonstrative-personal used as the antecedent of a relative, as in:

Then I heard the voice of her to whom
Coming thro' heaven . . . the Gods . . . rise up for reverence.

Tennyson, *Oenone*.

It is different also from the normal objective genitive, as in: "They have often wished . . . that he lived a thousand miles off from them; his company, his words, yea the sight of him did terrify and afflict them sore."—Bunyan, *The Holy War*.

This very-clay-of-him construction may be followed *ad nauseam* among the chronologers of the psychological moment and the chroniclers of sex-stuff. "She was the daughter of a lumber-jack and woodcraft was bred into the very fiber of her."—*Sat. Ev. Post*, July 29, 1916. "The helplessness and littleness of her, the warm breath of her, the pressure of her lithe body against his, the tug of her clinging soft arms . . ."—*Sat. Ev. Post*, Dec. 23, 1916. "His heart leaped in response to the pluck of her."—*Good House-keeping*, May 1917. "Jerry admitted that he supposed so; and then he looked over at the bonny winsomeness, the wholesome com-

pleteness, and the altogether desirableness of her, and sighed."—Tom P. Morgan (*C. Gent.*, Mar. 12, 1921). "By this hand in his Jean felt more than ever the loneliness of her." "Here in her quivering throat was the weakness of her, the evidence of her sex."—Zane Grey, (*C. Gent.*, May 28, 1921). "The look of her and that kiss—they've gone hard with me."—Zane Grey (*C. Gent.*, June 11, 1921).

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BALE'S *Kynge Johan*

In a note on 'Bale's *Kynge Johan* and *The Troublesome Raigne*' in *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1921, Mrs. Martin Le Boutillier makes the surprising assertion that 'The source for both was Holinshed's *Chronicles*.' Since Bale died in 1563 and Holinshed's work did not appear till 1577 the suggestion is on the face of it rather improbable, and the further fact that Bale's play was in existence in some form before 1549 (when he mentioned it in his *Scriptorum Summarium*), whereas Holinshed or rather Wolfe did not begin the *Chronicle* till about 1548 (see *D. N. B.*), puts it practically out of the question.

Kynge Johan and the *Troublesome Reign* appear to follow in common a Protestant tradition and it is of course conceivable that there may be a closer connection between them. But it seems on general grounds very unlikely that the anonymous author should have been acquainted with Bale's manuscript.

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A NOTE ON SHELLEY, BLAKE, AND MILTON

In his edition of *Alastor*,¹ Beljame remarks on Shelley's "rap-prochements" with Blake, citing, among other evidence, two parallels noted by H. Buxton Forman in his 1892 edition of Shelley. The first contains the words "the waste wilderness";²

¹ Paris, 1900, pp. 85, 117.

² *Alastor* 54; Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, p. 26 (ed. of 1790).

³ *Alastor* 327, Blake, l. c. In *Alastor* the word has sometimes been printed "running."

the second turns on the word "ruining."³ It is, however, as probable that these expressions came from Milton as that they were borrowed from Blake. Near the beginning of *Paradise Regained* (I, 7) are the words "the waste wilderness," and in *Paradise Lost* we read of the fall of Satan and his host from heaven:

Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw
Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
Affrighted.

(VI, 867-9.)

Shelley's familiarity with "the sacred Milton," as he calls the earlier poet in the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, is so obvious and so often acknowledged as to need no demonstration. This familiarity included *Paradise Regained*, for Dowden says that in the winter of 1814, the year before *Alastor* was written, Shelley in his evening readings "would try his spirit and those of his hearers with the severer beauty of the *Paradise Regained*."⁴ Blake's own source, if a source must be found, is probably Milton also.

Beljame accepts as a further indication of Shelley's indebtedness to Blake his use of the theme of the struggle in mid-air between an eagle and a serpent, which appears twice in *Alastor*,⁵ and is developed at length in *The Revolt of Islam* (I, viii-xiv). Such a contest is the subject of one of Blake's illustrations. But Shelley may be following the *Iliad*, where we read:

"A bird had appeared to them, an eagle of lofty flight. . . . In its talons it bore a blood-red monstrous snake, alive, and struggling still; yea, not yet had it forgotten the joy of battle, but writhed backward and smote the bird that held it on the breast, beside the neck, and the bird cast it from him down to the earth, in sore pain, and dropped it in the midst of the throng; then with a cry sped away down the gusts of the wind."⁶

Mrs. Shelley⁷ tells us that in 1817, the year of the composition of *The Revolt of Islam*, the *Iliad* was part of her husband's reading. *Alastor* is of earlier date, but hardly antedates Shelley's acquaintance with Homer.

These facts suggest that we should be cautious in using similarities as proofs of the influence of one poet on another.

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⁴ *Life of Shelley* 1, 472.

⁵ Lines 227-32 and 325. In the second passage a vulture replaces the eagle; cf. *Prometheus Unbound* III, i, 72.

⁶ XII, 200-7, translation of Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

⁷ *The Poems of Shelley, Oxford Edition, Note on Poems of 1817.*

The Bent Bow

O whan he came to broken briggs,
He bent his bow and swam.¹

In the English and Scottish Popular Ballads, the phrase *bent his bow* has remained a puzzle. It is usually assumed that the "bonny boy" ran with bow in hand. Carrying a weapon, however, would retard the runner; and bending the bow would consume time and valuable energy for one who is to swim dangerous streams. I offer the following explanation.

The word "bow" meant "shoulder" or "upper arm" during the old and middle English periods.² The Old English form is *bog* or *boh* with the Old Norse cognate form *bog-r*. An example of the Old English form is found in the first of the *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, in the line,

Donne me se beadcafa bogum bilegde.³
'Then the warlike (one) covered me with his arms.'

In *Morte Arthure* there is listed among the delicacies served at the Round Table,

... bowes of wylde bores with the braune lechyde.⁴
'Shoulders of wild boars with the brawn cut into slices.'

A related word *baug* is used in the same sense by the Norwegians of today.⁵

In a version of the ballad, *Lord Barnard and Little Musgrave*, found in Nova Scotia under the name of *Little Matha Grove*, the line in question reads,

And he bended his brest and he swum.⁶

Although this line does not convey a meaning identical with the one suggested, it is possible that rationalization of the usual form may have taken place. While in modern English *bow* is not used to mean "arm" or "shoulder" in speaking of a man or beast, it is customarily applied to the shoulder of a boat or ship.

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¹ Francis J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. II, p. 114. Substantially the same lines occur in Vol. II, pp. 117, 119, 121, 122, 129, 177, 212, 277, 287, 313, 379, 395; Vol. IV, pp. 229, 398.

² See *New English Dictionary*, s. v.

³ *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, ed. by Frederick Tupper, Jr., p. 1, l. 11.

⁴ *Morte Arthure*, ed. by Edmund Brock, Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 8, l. 188.

⁵ J. Byrnilsen, *Norsk-Engelsk Ordbog*, Christiania, 1917.

⁶ W. R. Mackenzie, *The Quest of the Ballad*, p. 15.

BRIEF MENTION

The Battle of the Books in its Historical Setting, by Anne Elizabeth Burlingame; Introduction by James Harvey Robinson (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1920, pp. x + 225). This volume and Dr. Jones's essay, noticed in the preceding number of this periodical, are of the same date but altogether independent of each other. The common subject is independently studied with much that is common in purpose, that of showing its reaches back into the history of culture. Two serious expounders of the deeper significance of the 'quarrel' have thus simultaneously been moved to rescue this subject from a superficial judgment more or less general and traditional.

Professor Robinson in a brief Introduction indorses the book with a characterization of its theme, "a long conflict for liberty," the escape from the thralldom of classical literature, "the first great conscious conflict between the Old and the New, . . . the instructive beginning of a process which must in the nature of things go on for a long time to come, until, at last, men's minds may grow really free to accommodate themselves readily and joyfully to the Ever-new." Following the order of the three divisions of the book he epitomizes the successive steps of the "long conflict," keeping the problem comprehensive of all learning until it becomes finally more or less narrowed to "the supremacy of the Ancients in poesy and oratory."

The 'background' of the controversy is now interpreted to embrace the cultural history of the medieval period. A sketch of that history is therefore drawn in the 'Introductory Chapter' (pp. 3-39). After the barest outlines of significant movements, showing appreciative dependence on her authorities, Miss Burlingame enters upon the more direct approaches of the argument by devoting the second half of the chapter to a study chiefly of Erasmus and Montaigne. In his educational theory Erasmus, the self-styled "citizen of the world" had progress in view, but in his conception of progress "its source lay wholly in the ancient past. . . . Sane classical culture, free from taint of sectionalism, must be conjoined with modern life." He lamented secular ignorance and contended for a free Bible; but in consequence of his steadfast look into the past for inspiration, he would have Latin to become a living tongue. He has no inspiring vision of a cultivated vernacular, and "he failed to grasp the significance of science, or to realize that in the fresh observation of nature lay the key to growth" (p. 24).

If Erasmus hoped for the future with his face turned to the past, his distinguished contemporary Vives (whose great learning was generously acknowledged by Erasmus) looked steadfastly into

the future, and regarded the study and cultivation of the vernacular languages in the light of a nation's primary obligation and means of progress. It is also very pertinent to the history of the 'quarrel' to quote his comment on the giant and dwarf figure, which already in his day was somewhat trite: "For it is a false and fond similitude, which some writers adopt, though they think it witty and suitable, that we are, compared with the ancients, as dwarfs upon the shoulders of the giants" (Foster Watson, *Vives: On Education*, Cambridge, 1913, p. cv). Bacon incurred obligations to Vives, and is also supposed by Mr. Watson to have known Robert Ashley's *Interchangeable Course of Things*, 1594, a translation from Louis Le Roy. It contains this characteristic statement: "we ought by our own inventions to augment the doctrine of the Ancients." Miss Burlingame and Dr. Jones have both entirely overlooked Vives, whom Mr. Watson has so competently restored to his rightful place in the history of education.

In spite of an extraordinary training in Latin (nor did the training of the precocious William Wotton secure an inflexible advocate of the classics), Montaigne's educational attitude was peculiarly modern. By nature impatient of pedantry and tolerant of what is free, universal, unpretentious, and non-partisan in life, he was not detached from antiquity, but, accepting it in his light, generalizing manner, gave it a place in the continuous history of human endeavor: "We judge them as we judge ourselves." For him "there is no isolated Past." He re-acted from his own early experience and urged that in education the modern languages should precede the ancient, and approved "the translation of classical works into the vernacular." His modernity was restricted, however, by his disapproval of rendering the Bible "fit for the people's handling by translating it into the vulgar tongue." Modern he was, with reservations instinctively unfavorable to innovations; to him "the reform of the calendar is an irritation," and it is foolish to boast "of the invention of artillery and printing" known "in China a thousand years ago." This last detail illustrates how far Montaigne remained behind Bacon in finding a constructive view of progress, for Bacon declared, "nor do I think that it matters . . . to the business in hand whether the discoveries that shall now be made were long ago known to the Ancients" (p. 203, note 34).

It is broadly defensible to regard the controversy that ultimately evoked Swift's satire as having its roots in medieval philosophy, science, and educational theory, and Miss Burlingame's sketchy review of its assumed early stages cannot but stimulate coherent study of cultural movements. What is lacking in the review will however be perceived to be a reckoning with the concurrent growth and influence of the vernacular literature. But the controversy in its specific character begins not with the first Bacon but rather with the second.

The interval between the two is, of course, fraught with the positive and negative forces that in the end effected a fresh and indomitable attitude to an old subject.

The specific history of the controversy, toward which the way has been paved by the "Introductory Chapter," is now traced in the two principal divisions of the book: "The Scientific Phase," and "The Literary Phase" (in two chapters). It is a specific history with a definite beginning. The time had come for a new formula of progress, a formula that would answer much questioning of preceding generations and provide for more complete intellectual satisfactions. In the words of Miss Burlingame, "The time was ripe for the messenger of this great change. The scientific achievements of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Bruno, of Harvey and Kepler [and why not Gilbert?] had stirred men's blood and given promise of new mastery of physical law. . . . Although the full significance of science had not yet impressed men's minds, its ferment was stimulating their thought. . . . It is Francis Bacon of a truth who becomes the trumpeter of this change; for it is he who first renders articulate the sense of the continuity of life and progress through science, and of man's capacity for advance step by step." Bacon's attitude to the learning of the past (not overlooking his personal limitations) and his confident hope that learning's "third visitation to men . . . will surpass the Greek and Roman learning" is briefly expounded on the basis of extracts from his works.

Galileo belongs to the new order. By experimentation he "weakened the whole Aristotelian system of mechanics," and thus contributed to the criticism of classical tradition. In a public discourse, moreover, he "directly challenged the Schoolman's deference to Aristotle and the ancient written Word," and proclaims an era of Reality to displace the traditional authority of mere Words. His revolt is fully set forth in his *Dialogo*, from the English translation of which (1661) Miss Burlingame gives pertinent extracts. The Italian author's use of his vernacular has also a significance in the controversy. This "scientific phase" of the controversy is next observed at the hands of Descartes and Hobbes. According to the method adopted in this chapter, these philosophers are also allowed to present the salient points of the controversy in their own words. The extracts are well chosen for specific emphasis, and Miss Burlingame's comments are so restrained as not to diminish the force of that emphasis. Altho disclosing nothing new, this survey of one of the most important periods in the history of the mind's attitude to authenticity in knowledge has been made with a freshness of enthusiasm that is communicable to the general student and gives it a recognizable value. Comparing the book with the essay one finds that the same conclusion has been reached by a different selection of witnesses; but it remains a surprise that Miss Burlingame has not

availed herself of Sprat's testimony. Hakewill and Guthkelch (specially important for bibliography) are also names that would have been suggested by Dr. Jones's 'list of books.' In her interpretation of the state of the controversy preceding Temple, Miss Burlingame differs from Dr. Jones in assuming that only "one phase of classical literature remained intact. . . . Poetry and Oratory still reigned." The issue remained more complex than that as is proved by the character of the details maintained in the arguments of the 'literary' quarrel, as Dr. Jones has shown, tho not with all possible completeness.

The second half of the book (pp. 103-195) is devoted to a survey of "The Literary Phase," that aspect of the controversy which is strikingly engaging and in particular respects profoundly significant, even when not completely considered in its long backward reaches. The continuity of the controversy is of course acknowledged in essential agreement with Dr. Jones: "Beginning in England with the more general discussion of Glanvil and Stubbs, it culminated in the famous Battle of the Books between Bentley and Boyle. In France, taking the form of a revolt against the canons of taste established by the French Academy, the contest raged around Perrault and Fontenelle." The national features are distinguished: "In France the movement, although fundamentally the same, had a different surface aspect. . . . Classical standards were absolute. . . . Thus the revolt . . . seems a natural reaction against the tyranny of form" (p. 105). Descartes prepared France to break "the spell of the classics in Philosophy and Science," and yet "when France was repudiating the old authorities in Metaphysics and Physics, she was in Poetry and Oratory placing herself under the dominion of that literary regime designated later as the Classical Era of Louis Fourteenth. The same period which witnessed the foundation of the French Academy of Sciences, saw also the culmination of the work of Boileau, of Racine, of Molière" (p. 155). The national sides of the quarrel now determine the order of the discussion. Temple, Wotton, Bentley, and Swift, are the topics first treated; then follows a division with these titles: "The French Point of View as Compared with the English, Charles Perrault, Fontenelle, Conclusion." The story is familiar and the records are accessible. These facts do not, however, deprive the book of a goodly share of fresh interest, for Miss Burlingame has studied the events with commendable insight and interpretative skill, and her treatise together with the essay by Dr. Jones will lead, one must believe, to a renewal of reflections upon the entire controversy.

In its profoundest significance the controversy is not an historic event now completely detached from educational theory. It involves questions that have continued in dispute and are today considered in re-determinations of the content of the curricula of the schools and in definitions of intellectual culture. The publications of the

U. S. Bureau of Education and the records of the universities and colleges contain the nineteenth century history of the gradual admission of the natural sciences into the courses of higher education, a history which must amaze the present generation. And the educationist is at present, according to temperament, arguing on one or the other side of some form, tho greatly changed in its general aspects, of the old controversy between the ancients and the moderns.

In an obvious sense the controversy under consideration roots in the philosophic tenet that distinguishes science from art and is therefore a constant factor in the problem of progress. Art is relatively static, and attains in its products a certain finality; science is in motion, and attained positions are its stepping-stones. A not very remote analogy to this contrast is in the relation of the essence of the spiritual life to shifting dogma. But the analogy must not be misconstrued so as to obscure the fact that science supplies the elements for progress in art. Not to lose the 'controversy' in abstractions, one perceives on its literary side that the eyes of the classicist could be blinded to the finality of art in whatever age of the world, and that the modernist, in recognizing merit in vernacular productions, did not impugn the endurable qualities in what by their opponents was held to be unapproachably superior.

The limits of this notice exclude even the briefest comment on all the differences of emphasis between the book and the essay thruout the report of the last stage of the controversy. But one must mention Dr. Jones's stronger emphasis on Temple's relation to Burnet,—a cardinal point in his special argument. Moreover, Dr. Jones pays more attention to the temperamental outfit of the disputants,—a factor at all times of more or less determining force in a discussion of this character. And Miss Burlingame alone attempts an adequate reckoning with *A Tale of a Tub*.

In conclusion one point more may be noticed, for it relates to a judgment that is to be questioned. Miss Burlingame presses her argument to an apex in extolling the merits and influence of Swift's satire. Now, satire is an inferior form of literature. It usually attains comic and entertaining effects by caricature, burlesque and ridicule, and that too by a capricious and irresponsible attitude to underlying truths and principles. With these features made prominent it is not a form adapted to a sound philosophic discussion of such problems as were involved in the "controversy," and Swift did not release the form from those less seriously and permanently effective characteristics.

It is to be added that an important volume (agreeing in date with the book and the essay) is now accessible, containing *A Tale of A Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, together with pertinent pieces, edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith (Clarendon Press).

J. W. B.

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